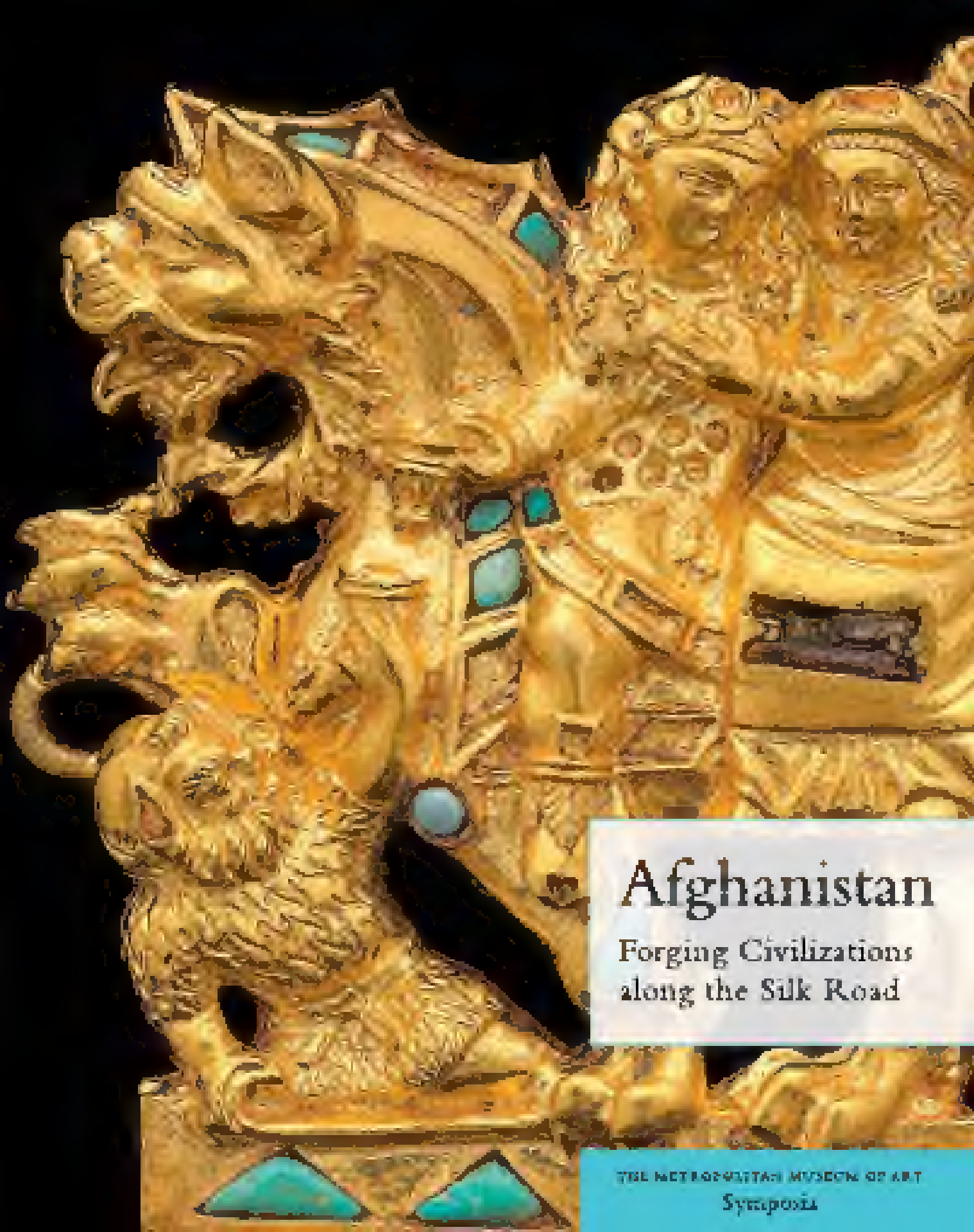

Afghanistan

Forging Civilizations along the Silk Road

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Symposia

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Symposia

Afghanistan

Forging Civilizations along the Silk Road

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Afghanistan

Forging Civilizations along the Silk Road

Edited by
Joan Aruz
and
Elisabetta Valtz Fino

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Frontispiece: Human figure in green fabric at the foot of northern Afghanistan's rugged Panjsir Mountains. Photographer: Michael Yamashita.

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Afghanistan and the Silk Road

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We would first like to thank Thomas P. Campbell, director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for his commitment to fostering the appreciation of the magnificent cultural heritage of Afghanistan through the symposium and lectures that accompanied the landmark exhibition "Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures from the National Museum, Kabul"—which was on display at the Metropolitan Museum in 2008 and 2009. The symposium was funded by the Hagop Kevorkian Fund and the Friends of Inanna, the support group of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art. We are very pleased that, with these papers, we are able to make another contribution to the Museum's symposium series, six years after the publication of *The Golden Door of Eurasia*. We would like to thank Mark Polizzotti, Gwen Roginsky, Peter Antony, Michael Sittenfeld, and Robert Weisberg of the Editorial Department for their assistance in bringing this volume to completion. Elizabeth Powers devoted much time and energy as copy editor, and Doug Malloki, assisted by Steve Chanon, deserves special thanks for his attention to complex issues relating to images and layout. Anandaroop Roy created a new map to cover the vast distances discussed in the book.

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Jean Arnold and Elizabetta Valtz Fano

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

Afghanistan

Forging Civilizations along the Silk Road

Introduction

work, the place of colonial development in

cally pomced out to the array by Paul Mce

nce completely obliterate the Greek legacy

relics made by Vikings attached to the Hela

Incan-looking architectural arch

but also to the identification of the people

Agriculture sector transformation
Authoritarian

At the Crossroads of Asia: A History of the National Museum of Afghanistan

Fig. [illegible] National Museum, Kabul, after its destruction in 1992.

the new regime, the museum was revitalized and [illegible] under [illegible] for the Afghan Ministry of Culture by the [illegible] of the National Museum and the staff of the [illegible] Archaeological Institute of Afghanistan, but the collection had in recent years been [illegible] the war. It was transferred to a conservation center near the museum in Darulaman. During these early months of the Soviet occupation, the museum was [illegible] also affiliated with the new [illegible]. Events were [illegible]: frescoes from the Surkh Kotal Zoroastrian temple, [illegible] absent from the French excavations at Ai Khanoum, was a magnificent [illegible] of the Hindu god of [illegible] from Mour Khara [illegible] had been found by [illegible] [illegible] the treasures from Tilya Tepe were finally established at the National Museum in 1989. The museum even [illegible] the [illegible] of the late Najibullah [illegible] for several months in 1994, when he [illegible] the Bactrian gold that was hidden in the [illegible] vaults. The [illegible] of Bactria, 1978.

The 1979 death was not the [illegible] the Soviet occupation [illegible] the destruction of the [illegible] and of the cultural infrastructure throughout the countryside. At Ai Khanoum, eight kilometers [illegible] the superb outdoor museum was plundered and burned in [illegible] 1979. [illegible] to be made good, [illegible] the many [illegible] discovered by Afghan [illegible] at Hadda, [illegible] were [illegible] and at least [illegible] [illegible] in 1981, the venerable [illegible] of DAFA [illegible] the many [illegible] in Afghanistan.

Throughout the 1980s the [illegible] Afghanistan [illegible] finally in [illegible] officials of the National Museum in [illegible] with the Ministry of Information and Culture and the [illegible] that a [illegible]

pieces were sketch

People wondered about the fate of the

diplomats, and members of the abductor

It was eventually brought to Peshawar

Fig. 4. The main Wa Gate of a large portion of the floor coverings, including the superb Afghan carpet that was decorated the museum's hall and exhibition galleries. Our photo were some donated by UNESCO had been damaged by fire. Overcoming such obstacles. Moreover, it was a monument of the major repository of history and representation to identity of a people to that, such the smallest object must not be moved or interfered with. The transfer of objects from a museum as an attack on the soul and spirit of the nation. The destruction of these works is an irreparable disaster, and their theft and looting are an indelible betrayal of the people. [illegible] made an immediate decision to "Save a Nation." The initiative by pledging the financial support of the United Nations and the Executive of the [illegible] Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), the only [illegible] organization still active in Kabul. The other agreement is already handed to Islamabad, Pakistan.

In 1995, the collection's security was provided with iron doors and a sturdy roll-shutter. The windows were covered up to prevent rocket, bullet, rocket, and other plate glass splinters made of [illegible] snow and rainwater from penetrating the deteriorated, irreparable, and valuable materials in close-range storage. The Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH) was established in the same year by Nancy Hatch Dupree to chief the museum in cataloguing the remaining objects, installing fire alarms, photographs of Afghanistan's heritage, and recovering stolen items. During that winter, a team was brought in to secure the collections from the upper gallery of the collection. Above [illegible] to access in some cases [illegible] and many of them damaged were saved and placed in storage.

Meanwhile, the region was still [illegible] and [illegible] the museum more [illegible] were again [illegible] and [illegible] crackedly [illegible]. The museum had neither water nor electricity, and with

Fig. [illegible] Sketch of the National Museum's [illegible] collection after looting.

Fig. [illegible] Remaining [illegible] Kushan wooden sculpture from the Bolivian Museum.

Owing to lack of the [illegible] was carried out using kerosene lamps after the generator was stolen. Nothing was [illegible] [illegible] sculptures were stolen: Nuristan Wooden Statue. Were [illegible] up for [illegible] [illegible] and the museum would mirror the [illegible] of the Hall.

Fig. [illegible] Fragment of a bronze bowl, late Kushan period, Kabul Museum, [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Gandhara sculpture, [illegible] Kabul Museum, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Tillya [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] However [illegible] through Mount Qimat [illegible] protecting the museum collections and making illegal smuggling of artifacts [illegible] by [illegible] was not [illegible] to reveal publicly that [illegible] about the museum [illegible]

At the beginning of [illegible] the National Museum [illegible] with a further decree [illegible] decided that all images of humans [illegible] should be destroyed. A special group was assigned with this task. They destroyed about [illegible] works of art in the National Museum (see fig. [illegible]). There [illegible] the National Gallery of Art and the archives of Afghan films in March [illegible]. Not satisfied with [illegible] Buddha statues at Bamiyan [illegible] cultural [illegible] filled the heart of every decent Afghan with regret, represented an irreplaceable and [illegible] damage. We started [illegible] the coming generation of Afghans [illegible] human history will [illegible] as a memory [illegible] documents.

Regular [illegible] again after [illegible] the overthrow of the Taliban by Afghan and international [illegible] which was followed by reconstructing and rebuilding all over Afghanistan. The population of Kabul swelled to more than five million people [illegible] and warlordism, where the museum is located [illegible] illegal part of the city. The first step was to put a new roof on the museum and repair the infrastructure. International aid poured into the country for the museum. SPACH initiated training courses in English and computers and by [illegible] started rebuilding [illegible] of the National Museum. Concurrently, the wood sculpture was [illegible] by Australian [illegible] and the museum opened (fig. [illegible]). In fact, now only billion [illegible] National [illegible] sculptures (fig. [illegible]). These objects were painstakingly collected after having been [illegible] and chopped up during the [illegible] at the museum (see fig. [illegible]). [illegible] from the Mujahedin [illegible] were returned in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. 6. Repaired [illegible] at the National Museum

Fig. [illegible] Restored Nuristani wooden sculptures in [illegible] in the National Museum

Fig. 3. Omara Khan Massoudi inspecting recovered statue of Kunduz

In addition, most notably the statue of Kunduz (fig. 3) was also lost. Even the [illegible] Bactria Gold Hoard was associated with foreign assistance.

In 2003, the Ministry of Information and Culture decided to initiate a systematic inventory of the museum's holdings. Some from the bank vault and from the museum collections. It was clear that the collections were ancient and they were stolen in Kunduz in 1989. With assistance from the National Geographic Society (NGS), the inventory began in the spring of 2004 after a museum [illegible] was established to create the inventory found. There, a method of quickly assessing the collections and [illegible] was to be developed. Finally, key staff had to be trained [illegible] Afghan War. Following

allied Wars of 1991 War. The NGS team brought a model conservation laboratory [illegible] and [illegible] conservation supplies. The Afghan government gave the legal authorization to open the vault of the museum. The first [illegible] operation was the Tillya Tepe Bactrian gold—held in the vault. Professor Viktor Sarianidi was the [illegible] to authenticate the finds. It was a tense moment when the first vault was finally opened in the presence of the Minister of Information and Culture, but it revealed the intact Tillya Tepe. Professor Sarianidi was able to verify that there was no [illegible] from an excavation and no [illegible] of these [illegible] in the museum's [illegible]. Then, the day-to-day work of inventory began. The team [illegible] of [illegible] to the

Figure [illegible]. Minister of Information and Culture Sayed Makhdoom Raheen [illegible] Afghan Information Center [illegible] at the Ariana Hotel, Kabul, 2002.

[illegible] the Ministry of Aviation, the National Bank, the Attorney General's office, [illegible] with Carlos Gustavo [illegible] Government [illegible] UNAMA and Frederik Hackbarth [illegible] NGO [illegible] worked for their months at a time from on the palace collection, then on the [illegible] collection. Yet [illegible] the exhibition was complete. As we had hoped, these treasures were safe and finally accounted for, thanks to [illegible] rich space did up all these years. Difficult years of war and changes of administration.

The next step was to inform the public of these treasures, [illegible] Fact the news was shared with members of parliament. The ministry and the president's office embraced the idea of exchange, [illegible] Hakim's [illegible] exhibition [illegible] selection of

Figure [illegible]. Beginning of [illegible] exhibition. [illegible] behind the [illegible] director [illegible] and the minister [illegible]

Fig. 1. Opening of the traveling exhibition Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures from the National Museum, Kabul, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006.

Fig. 2. Excavation at the National Museum, Kabul. Afghan archaeologists unearth modern dirt (photo: [illegible]).

ancient objects to show the world a different people than the Afghans—people who persevere in the face of chaos and seven decades of cultural devastation.

The objects that had been stored under still well-lit, remarkably good conditions: ancient stamped ceramics and even fragile 2,000-year-old glass. Not in good condition. But in order to be exhibited, they required cleaning and conservation. The Minor Gallery Paris stepped up to the challenge with an offer to conserve some of the most iconic objects from two important archaeological sites: Begram and Tillya Tepe.

With the unanimous agreement of the Afghan parliament, a military transport plane brought these treasures to Paris, where world-renowned experts like the [illegible] conservation

[illegible] Afghan [illegible] in Peru. Through such donations, the image of Afghanistan has been [illegible] in North America [illegible] National Gallery of Art in Washington [illegible] the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco [illegible] Museum of Fine Arts in Houston [illegible] Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York [illegible] Museum of Anthropology in Toronto [illegible] Museum [illegible] Argentina and in the compelling work of contemporary Afghan artists [illegible] had [illegible] to be shown for the [illegible] world [illegible] The exhibition [illegible] most recently in the Smithsonian Museum in Washington [illegible] the University [illegible] showing Afghan museum staff were [illegible] and at museum in Washington [illegible] to modern museum management.

While the [illegible] Afghan museum personnel [illegible] with staff training and [illegible] in [illegible] advanced [illegible] have been [illegible] Afghanistan and [illegible] of world Afghan antiquities [illegible] Exhibitions [illegible] in National Geographic [illegible] and the British Museum [illegible] Afghan objects that had been issued at [illegible] Hopefully [illegible] interesting [illegible] have [illegible] museum [illegible] and provide [illegible] Afghanistan [illegible] Middle Ages [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] had been damaged or stolen during the [illegible] of the museum building [illegible]

[illegible] future [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan [illegible] Dr. [illegible] [illegible] interest was raised in Musée [illegible] [illegible] the future [illegible] warranty [illegible] Pledges were made [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] museum and [illegible] [illegible] discussion and public [illegible] the museum and Afghanistan [illegible] with Afghanistan and [illegible] museum [illegible] along [illegible] collection management [illegible] establish a [illegible] for the museum and [illegible] future [illegible] in [illegible] about Afghanistan [illegible] important [illegible] and artifacts. The National Museum of Afghanistan [illegible] partner with [illegible] museum [illegible] to make these [illegible] into reality in the near future.

[illegible]

[illegible]

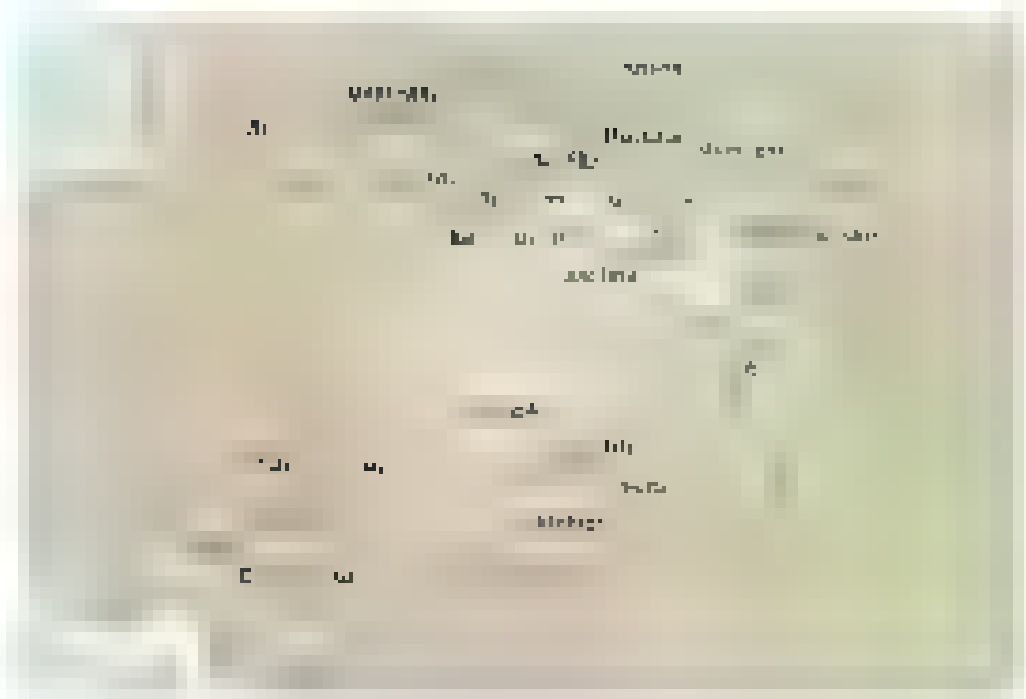
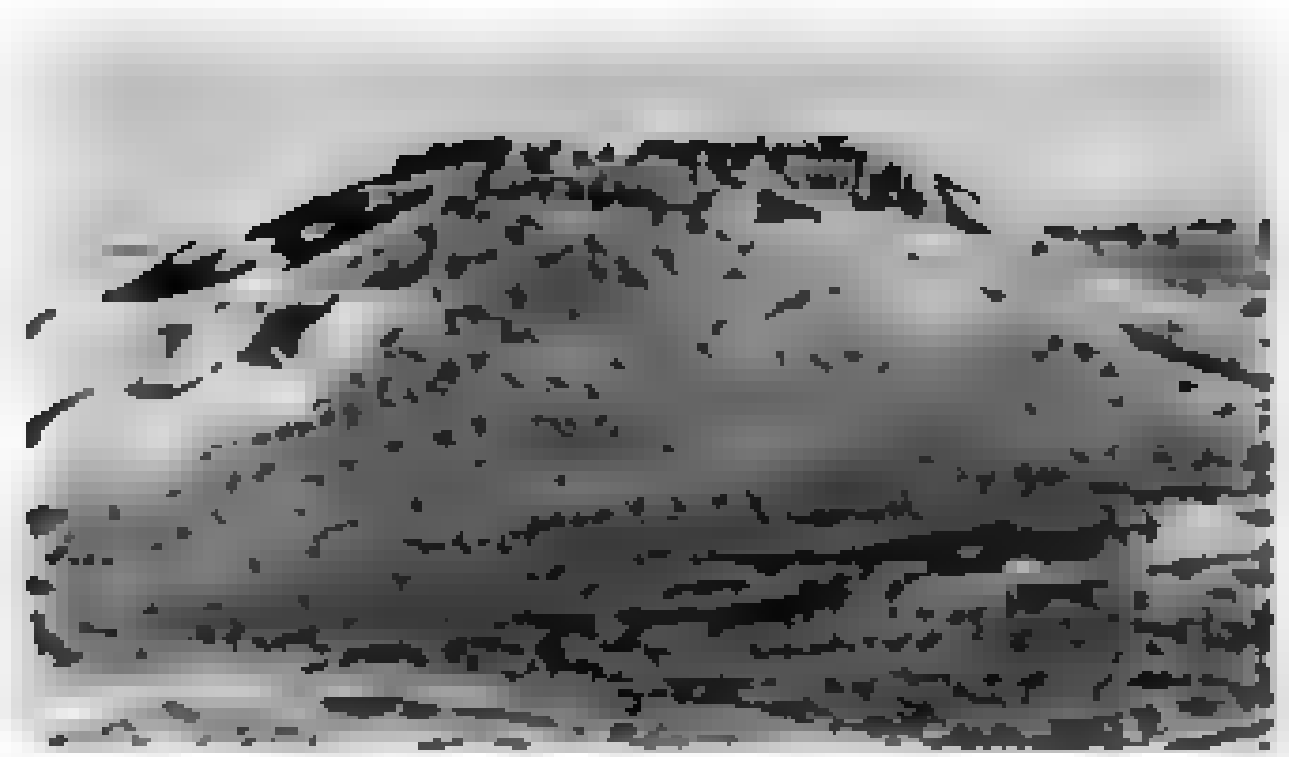


Fig. 1. Map of Bronze Age sites in Afghanistan and surrounding regions

Afghanistan. Prehistoric cultures known only from the been-to-documented sites that reveal the nature of Bronze Age Afghanistan are not outside of the present borders of Afghanistan, in order from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

The Neolithic origins of settlement in this region are known primarily from sites in the vicinity of Afghanistan's village life was clearly established at sites in the seventh millennium B.C. on all sides of Afghanistan's mountainous interior. At the beginning of the seventh millennium B.C. during the Early Bronze Age interaction across the vast regions of Central Asia and direct contact is documented in the form of exchanges resulting and the sharing of styles and technologies. These similarities in material culture at many sites imply a common history of trade and interaction across Afghanistan.

History of Research in Bronze Age Research in Afghanistan. Bronze Age archaeological research in Afghanistan is a field in progress and that is still unknown in the historical sense. The early Raphael Pumpelly was the first scholar who focused on Central Asia including northern Afghanistan, at a period of trade or ancient transition. A geologist, long interested in the relationship between environment and civilization, he focused his attention in the area looking for traces of early settlement in some regions that though now fertile are now arid. He was the originator of the propinquity theory of the origins of civilization—the theory later championed by V. Gordon Childe—supporting that the stimulating and internal resources in the regions of these early fertile lands led to settle and adopt agriculture. His excavations at Anau in Turkmenistan in 1904–1905 established, for the



northeastern Iran and Baluchistan, and other sites in Afghanistan were pointed out by Stuart Piggott, thereby alluding to the possibility of such pottery along the foothills of Afghanistan. Soon afterward this possibility was confirmed in Baluchistan by Walter Fairservis during his work near Quetta, the Italian survey of Beatrice de Cardi, and most fully in the excavations of Jean-Marie Casal at Mundigak in the Kandahar region. At Mundigak DAFA uncovered a towering mudbrick site (fig. 2) that spanned some [illegible] years, from the beginning of the fourth to the second millennium B.C. Five major cultural phases were identified: all representing the development of a small village which grew into a massive Bronze Age fortified center in phases IV–V (fig. 1). Casal's excavations tended to focus on the connections with Indus Valley sites, but there was no doubt that the local culture, though distinct, also had links with settlements in Central Asia and Baluchistan.

By the mid-1950s Afghanistan appeared to derive archaeological evidence from other countries and interest grew in prehistoric investigations. Small-scale excavations followed on the heels of Mundigak, including Louis Dupree's work at Shahi-Kot in the northeast of Afghanistan. At the Shah Mar site near Chaghcharan, Dupree found Early Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age pottery, typical of southeastern sites. Excellent was found in a transitional zone far from any settlement. Equally the wheel of Bronze Age pottery, most recently by George Dales in Swat and Jim Shaffer, Mark Kenoyer and Jim Sharma in Afghan Baluchistan, pointed to a pattern of communication and exchange during the Bronze Age.

Perhaps most emblematic of this exchange was a set of silver and gold vessels found in 1976 near Tepe Fullol in northeastern Afghanistan (fig. 4). While the vessels were part of the Indus Valley tradition, they undoubtedly came from an elite prehistoric burial. Decorated with repoussé bulls common to Mesopotamia, the Indus, and the Bronze Age of Central Asia, the two

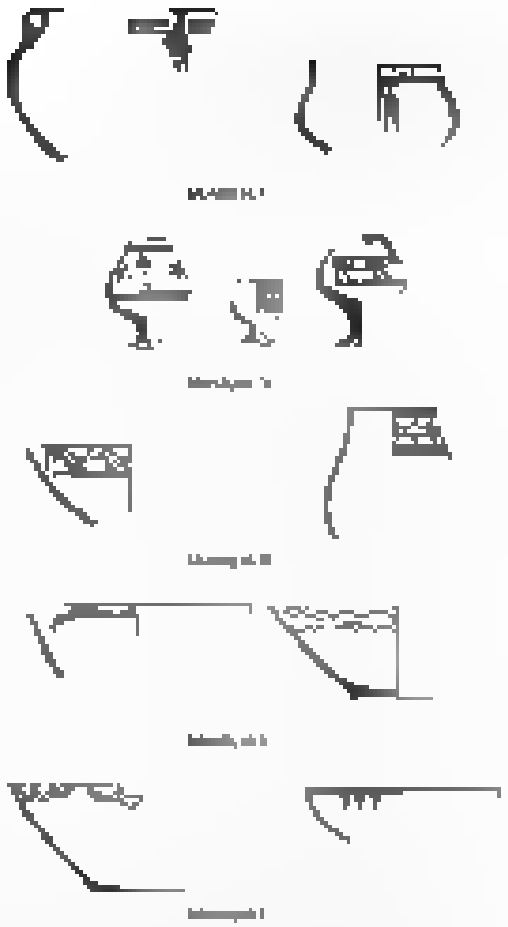


Fig. 3. Mundigak pottery. Periods I, II: Chalcolithic black-painted buffware wheel-thrown ware. Periods III, IV: Bronze Age black-and-red-painted buff earthenware. Period V: Iron Age red-painted handmade ware.

gold and silver vessels were unlike any other prehistoric found in Afghanistan. Gamkrelidze reconstructed scholarly interpretations of their dance, which included representations of rites paralleled with Mycenae and Babylonia, art of the twelfth century B.C. in Greece, petroglyphs paralleled during the late third millennium, still others pointing to some relation of the geometric designs. With Fullol pottery, suggested an early third millennium date.

(a)

(b)

Figure [illegible] Silver and gold finds from top: bullion [illegible] [illegible] gold with geometric motif [illegible] (b) fragment of a gold bowl with [illegible] [illegible] bowl fragment with [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

(c)

[illegible] the [illegible] of the Bronze Age [illegible] and [illegible] contains [illegible] authored [illegible] [illegible] of the trade [illegible] [illegible] results [illegible] of the hallmark [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of Afghanistan [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

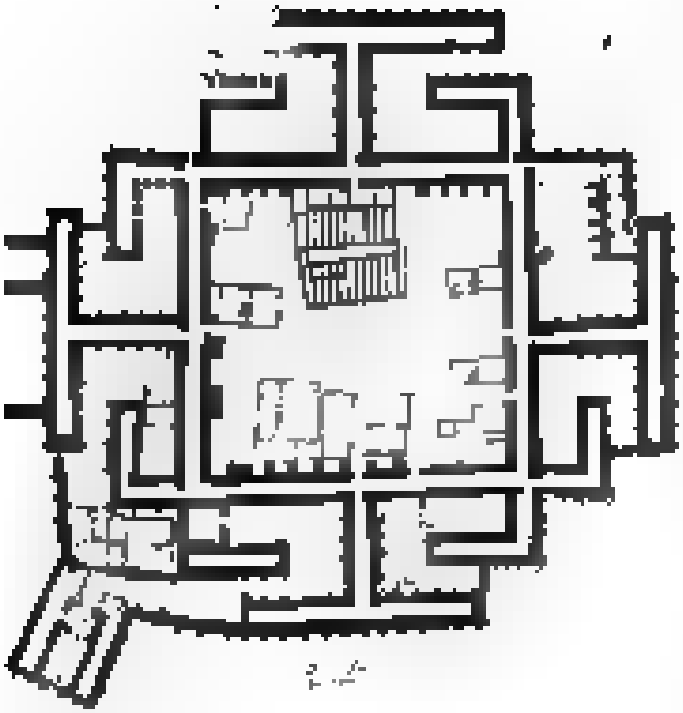


Fig. [illegible] Plan of Dashly [illegible] palace

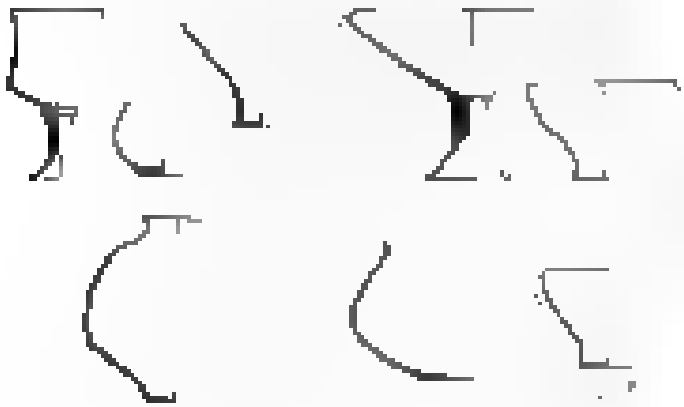


Fig. [illegible] Dashly ceramics

Gift-bearer bottle (fig. 4) and a number of objects made of imported stone and metal (fig. 5) indicated that the BMAC was as much at home in Afghanistan as it was across the Amu Darya in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. One major difference between Bronze Age Bactria and Bronze Age Margiana, however, is the lack of [illegible] figurines in the Bactrian sites. This absence is likely due to a chronological difference between the two regions, with such figurines being in the earlier levels in Margiana, probably derived from a Kopet Dag prototype.[illegible]

Equally fortunate when DAFA archaeologists surveyed the delta plain between the Kokcha and the Amu Darya in northeastern Afghanistan and found an array of Bronze Age settlements. Again, the material culture of these sites was very similar to that of southern and northern Bactria, leading their scholars to dub this the "eastern Bactrian" phase. A settlement came from the excavations at Qurghan Shorqala—a large mound site with two tholoi, revealing occupation stretching from 2100 to 1500 B.C.[illegible] The two tholoi shared and ceramics, figurines, and other materials so stylistically similar to the tholoi that the excavator considered it to have been an outlier of the Bactrian settlement in northern Afghanistan—a gateway community, close to the lapis lazuli mines of Sar-e Sang.

Excavations in Afghanistan, including at Shortughai, were halted about in 1979 by political disruptions, and no systematic excavations of Bronze Age sites have been conducted in Afghanistan. However, vast amounts of artifacts from illegal excavations at Bronze Age sites have appeared on the market in Kabul (fig. 6). An entire photograph has been devoted to the small finds—bronze, stone, wheels, stone, flint, clay, and pottery—that came primarily from looted sites located in northern Afghanistan.[illegible] Sarianidi compiled an amazing array of Bronze Age Bactrian-BMAC seals from the Kabul market, which also revealed important iconographic differences. From these

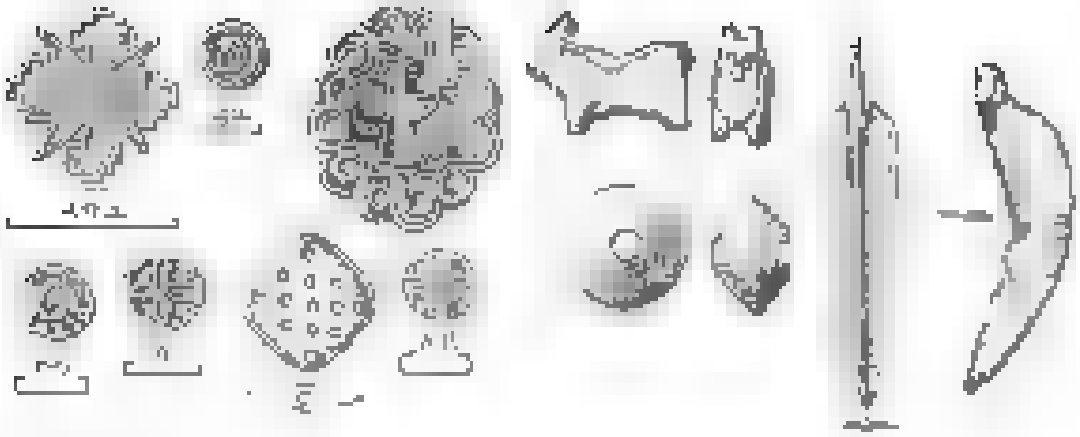


Fig. 9 Dasht-i-nawil finds

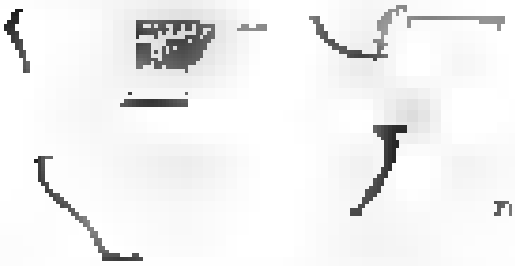


Fig. 10 Shortughai [illegible]

Fig. 11 Outdoor [illegible] in Kandahar display by Dasht-i-Nawil [illegible] Department of Antiquities

Fig. [illegible] Clay figurines (top left): Bronze Age Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) [illegible] with a miniature scene of humans and animals [illegible] Afghanistan [illegible] Museum, Kabul; photographs [illegible]

[illegible] to Turkmenistan and to Bactria." With the closure in Afghanistan [illegible] fortresses on the inner settlement of Gonur Depe [illegible] of Merv in Margiana. The excavations of many elite burials [illegible] the West objects with Indo-Iranian [illegible] graphic connections, both with the Indus and with Iran and Mesopotamia. In sound archaeological context, according to [illegible] of what must have been a major Bronze Age [illegible] at the Dewlatabad site in northern Afghanistan [illegible].

The last work in the [illegible] of India and second millennium [illegible] and beyond been [illegible] from private [illegible] the latest piece to the Bronze Age Afghanistan puzzle in the region of [illegible] have recently been mapped and new excavations initiated, shedding light on [illegible] and social complexity on the Northern Periphery of Afghanistan. Fast

identified from [illegible] at [illegible] Tepe Yahya, Shahdad and Bronze Age pottery found from burials [illegible] in the Helmand region show striking similarities with the small site of Shahdad and Kerman in southern Iran, which including aspects of iconography and pottery style [illegible] to Shahr-e-Sokhta and Mundigak as well.

Conclusion

What is the impact of this accumulated information on our understanding of Bronze Age Afghanistan? We now have a more [illegible] comprehensive chronology for the area from which a clearer dating of sites and understanding Afghanistan (fig. [illegible]) data from sites from Turkmenistan, Oman and Pakistan and Baluchistan (Mehrgarh) and data from the excavations at Kohna Sandal (Jacobi region). It appears that there are three main cultural Afghan cultures recognized in the literature, one Western Afghanistan and eastern Iran, one in Afghanistan and South Asia and another in Afghanistan and South [illegible]. And we can clearly see their pattern emerging already in the Early Bronze Age by [illegible].

Afghanistan's geographic clearly played a strong role in Afghanistan's settlement history throughout the Bronze Age being the crossroads [illegible] Western [illegible]

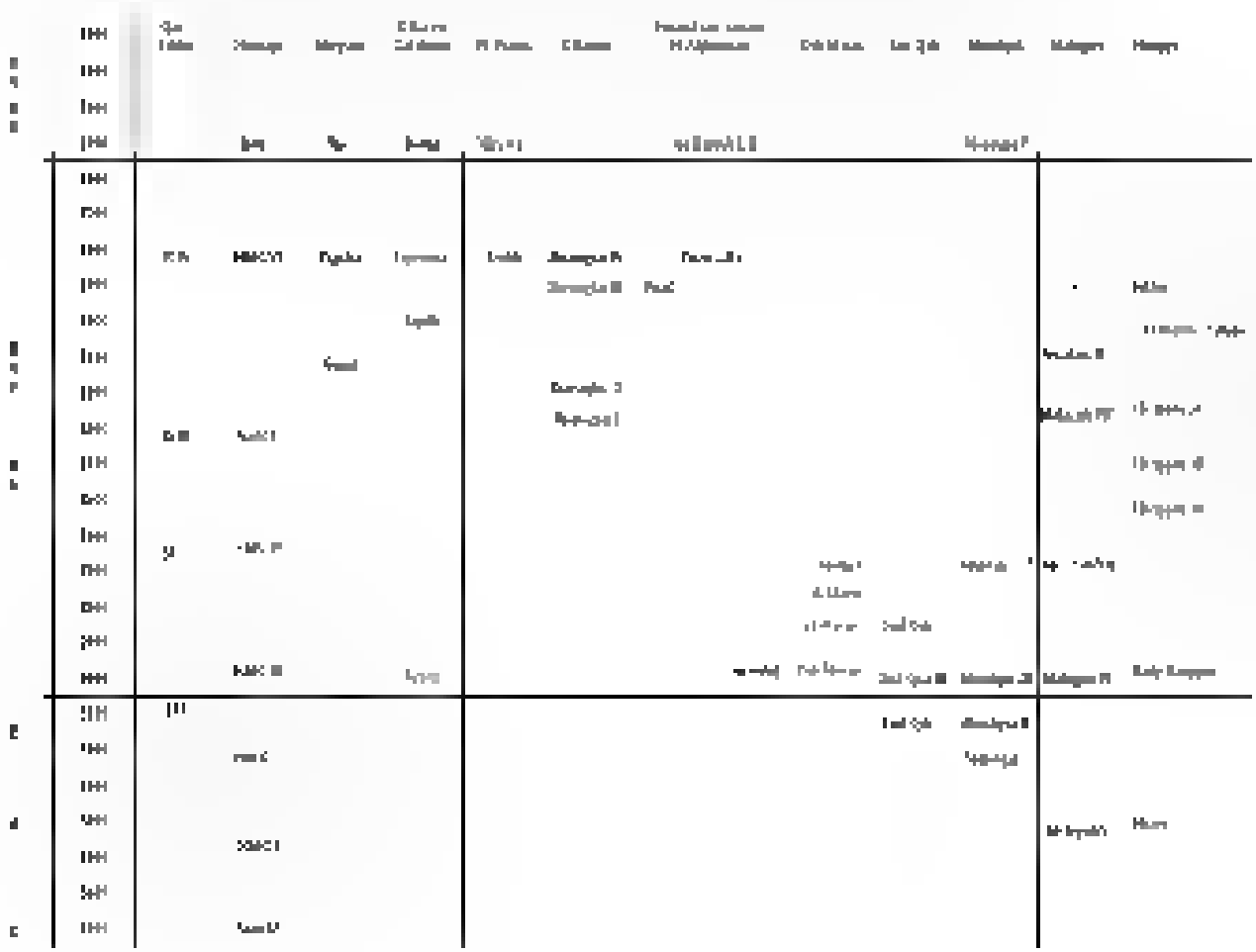


Fig. 1: Chronological chart showing cultural relations in Afghanistan

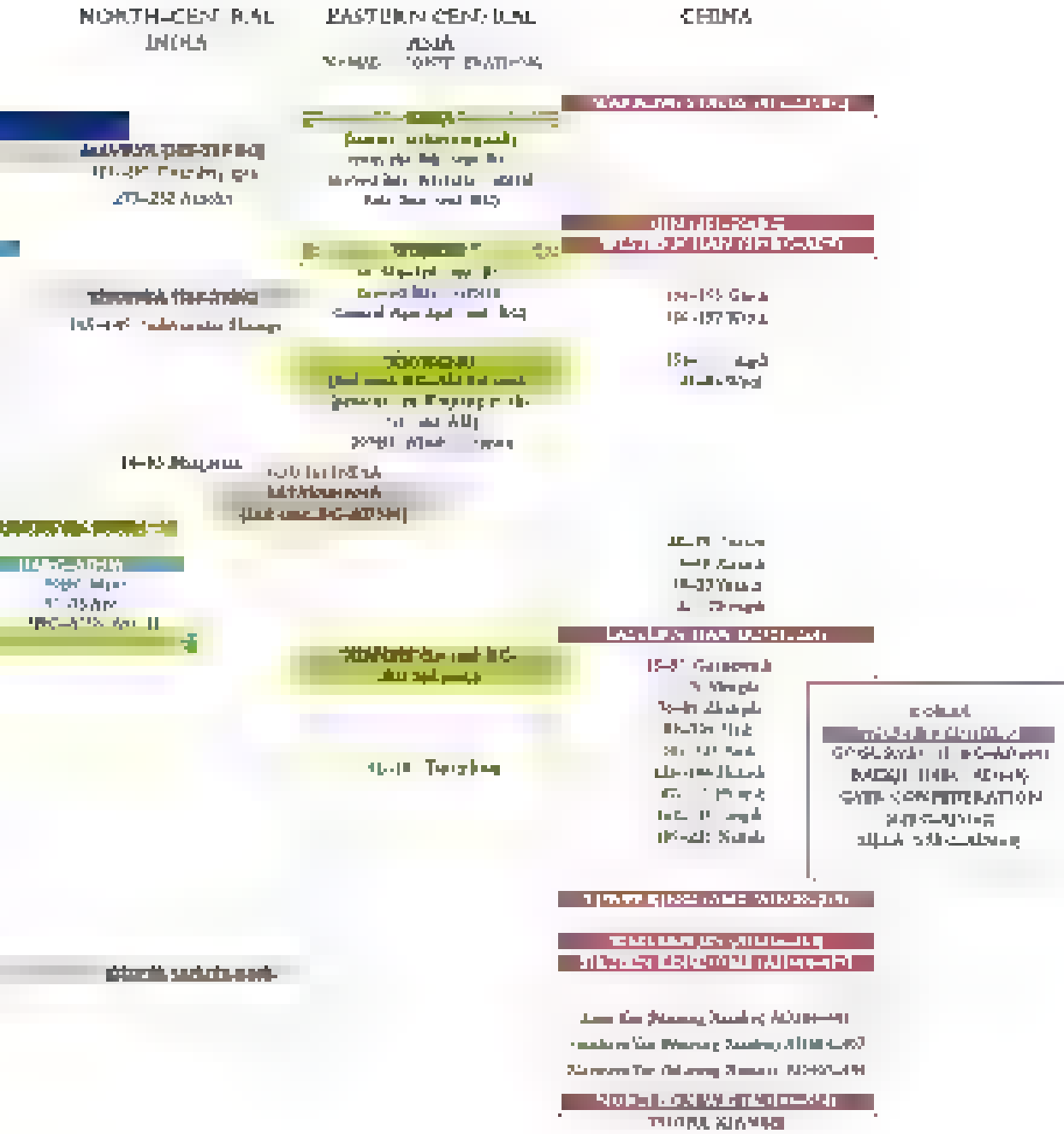
Books of Baluchistan (pt Makgpeh to Pak

[illegible] climate [illegible] provided an ideal [illegible] economy for the expansion of pastoral herders. With [illegible] dispersal [illegible] with Wheel [illegible] This shift in influence and power [illegible] more mobile populations [illegible] battle across the arid and rugged landscape of Central Asia and Afghanistan.

[illegible]

Chronology: Western, Central, and East Asia after Alexander

Based on chronologies in Bopearachchi (ed.), [illegible] table [illegible] and overviews of [illegible] (2[illegible]); all dates are approximate.


NORTH-CENTRAL INDIA
EASTERN CENTRAL ASIA
CHINA

[illegible] The Great [illegible]

Fig. 1. Gold coins of Diodotus I, founder of Bactrian kingdom, obverse and reverse.

could be reconstructed through coins, not to mention the dozens of other artefacts whose existence came as a total surprise—eventually forty-three rolls of papyrus, including a new quotation (see Chronologyp pt. Scroll and Table p. 19).

Since the Reverend Wolff remained silent, coins became the only backbone on which the frame of central Asian history has been built. Entire stories on these coins were carefully designed. All sorts of questions: possible about the people who minted them, where currency was an ancient tribute to politically aware of their contemporaries, each coin was like a tiny book of information technology saturated with data that rulers wished to record and documented. These silver and gold or yielding names, royal seals, numerals, symbols, family portraits, the uniforms of rulers and the images and emblems of princes denote were included with messages. For instance, the founder of an independent kingdom of Bactria (Diodotus I) and Di relate to us numismatically a compelling history of how they broke free of Seleucid power. The

The founder of the new Bactrian dynasty, Euthydemus, has bequeathed through his coinage a remarkable photo album of his long reign. Year by year, royal seal, the aging of the king, age from youth to

Fig. 2. The transformation of Euthydemus, showing the aging of our king on obverse, from young man with [illegible] to old age [illegible]

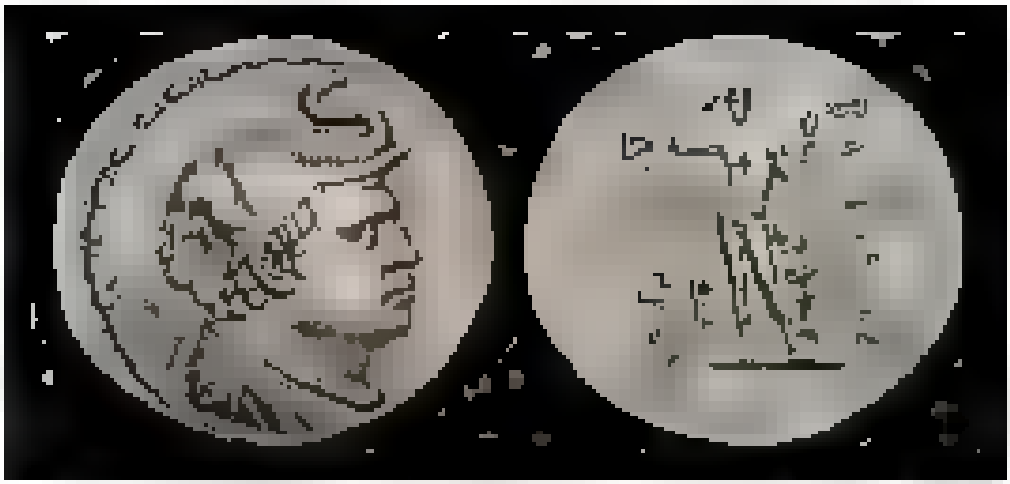


Fig. [illegible] Silver tetradrachm of Demetrius [illegible] with [illegible] depicting the [illegible] of the king [illegible] obverse and reverse [illegible]

[illegible] Bactria [illegible] Demetrius [illegible] Bactria [illegible] Antimachus [illegible] Seleucid [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] Bactrian [illegible] Antimachus [illegible] Demetrius [illegible] Bactrian [illegible] Menander [illegible] Bactrian [illegible] Menander [illegible] Bactrian [illegible] Menander

Fig. [illegible] Silver bilingual drachm of Menander [illegible] obverse and depiction of Athena reverse

with a [illegible] silver coin minted by Apollodotus [illegible] Bactria.

Nothing [illegible] the discovery of ancient Bactrian coins quite like an issue of Apollodotus [illegible] Xanthi. We [illegible] who first struck bilingual coins, mixing the Greek inscription on one side of the coin with the Brahmi [illegible] Kharoshthi on the other, [illegible] bilingual coinages of Bactria facilitated the decipherment of early Indian scripts by dedicated scholars such as James Prinsep, a contemporary of Rawlinson's. Apollodotus also experimented with the use of alphabets [illegible] which put him [illegible] coins ahead of his time, and he furthermore produced the [illegible] silver coins to commemorate his royal predecessors as [illegible] Replicating the coins of earlier monarchs, Apollodotus added [illegible] a [illegible] political [illegible] called a genealogy, which clarified his [illegible] for the remarkable [illegible] of an older-ordered succession. Apollodotus [illegible] this [illegible] all the way back to Alexander the Great.[illegible]

Meanwhile, on another special issue [illegible] commemorating his parents (fig. [illegible]), Eucratides [illegible] the great [illegible] of [illegible] three

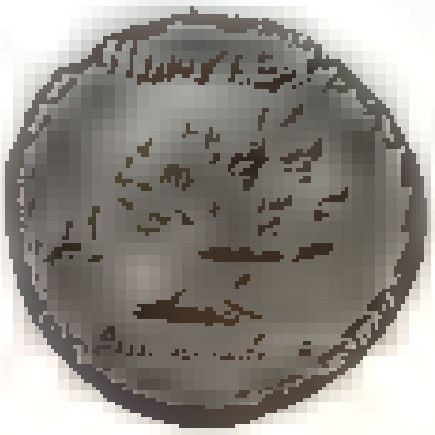


Fig. [illegible] Silver tetradrachm of Eucratides [illegible] commemorating his parents [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Silver tetradrachm of Eucratides [illegible] commemorating his parents [illegible]

Fig. 8. Gold [illegible] of Eu[illegible] [illegible]

Hello[illegible] appearance [illegible] Kandon and his mother [illegible] appearance [illegible] Without the [illegible] that importance for all family history [illegible] the wife for Selecter and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Copper coins [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Other [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

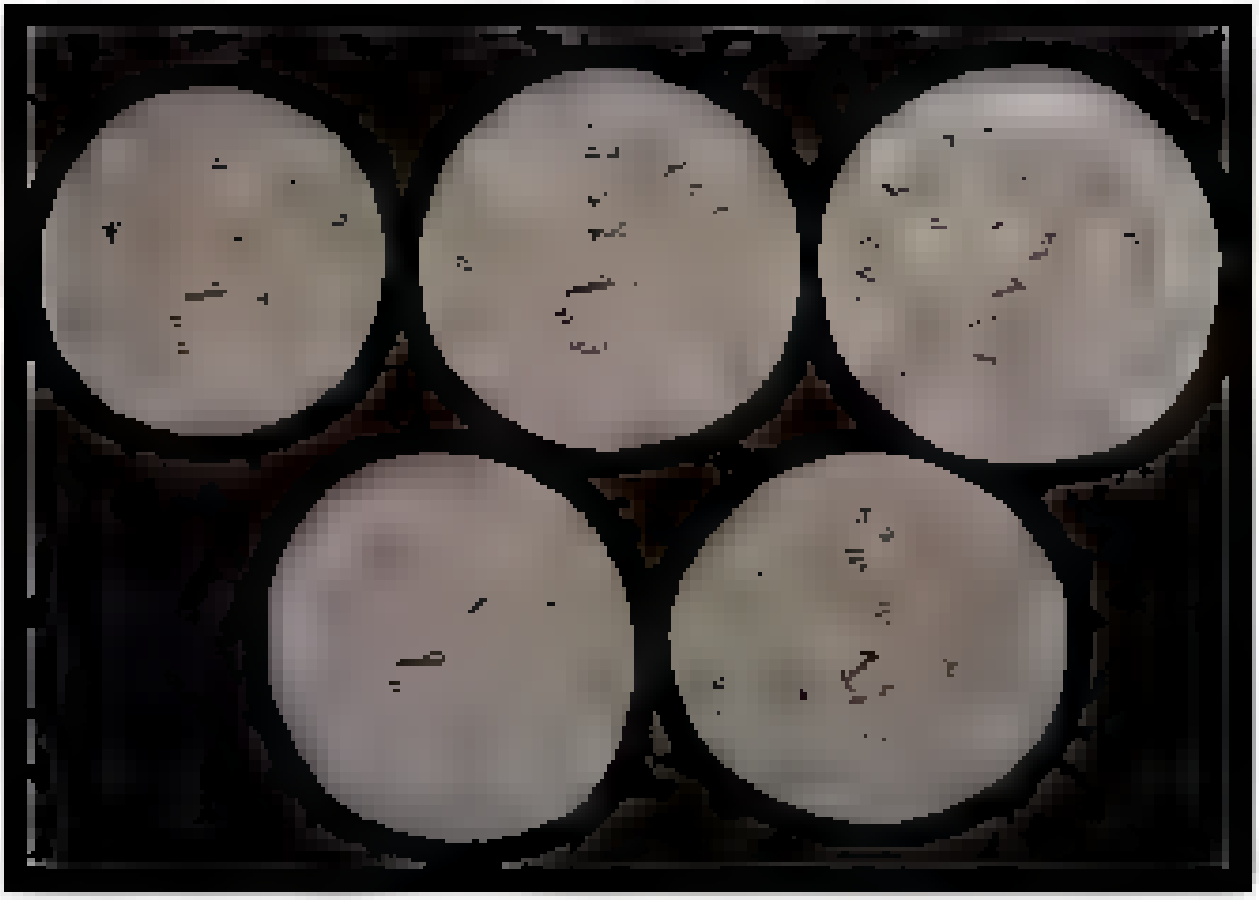
[illegible] Wealthy [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Silver disks in Southern Anatolia (photo [illegible] and drawing opposite)

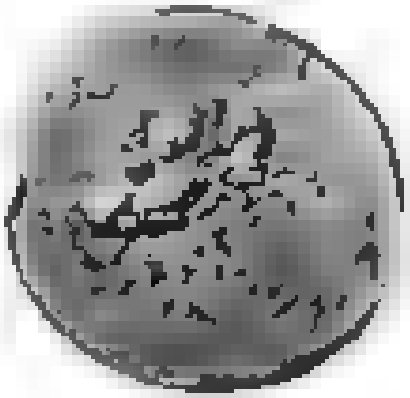
[illegible] cultures [illegible] with a complex task or response to new challenges in the workplace. We [illegible] a look at the early phase of numismatic discovery.

Most ancient coins were made by hammering a blank piece of precious metal, like a flan, between two [illegible] dies. The upper die is called the obverse or heads side, the lower die the reverse, tails side. Both dies have engraved each of these two sides in mirror image. When the punches the dies for a new coin, the die cutter took up his tools and [illegible] everything backwards, [illegible] the unknown. By careful study, we can look at the shoulders of these artisans to determine how they planned and executed their work. We can [illegible] the finished [illegible] that does [illegible] not blindly [illegible] an already revered model in so much [illegible] fashion. First, [illegible] thinking out [illegible] words in Greek as we would in English, reading the text backwards from the beginning, as though spelling it out from right to left, provided [illegible] a mirror to [illegible] from left to right. Thus, the order of words, not the [illegible] spelling, sometimes fell off [illegible] on a coin, which occurs if one assumes [illegible] set below or [illegible] the language, and the [illegible] replicating [illegible] angles [illegible].

The ancient die cutter must [illegible] attention to spacing as well as spelling. He must be able to interpret how the different design elements of his coin will [illegible] the



[illegible] We [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



not rare and testify to the [illegible] of letters on their [illegible] vocabulary. Whatever the [illegible] he was hallucinating that day, which made the mistakes still visible to the ancient world, granted [illegible].

We might infer that some official gave the kingdom's [illegible] task to an incompetent [illegible] worker, which speaks poorly of the priorities of the court in addition to the engraver himself. Yet we must argue that aesthetic standards were slipping even as a [illegible] as important as this one. For his part, Anatole Chabouillet noted that the obverse and reverse of Bacrandor's huge gold [illegible] to be the product of different engravers because one side is vastly inferior to the other, and that presumably a Greek would not have made it. This characterization supplied does not help us fill particulars, since Chabouillet considered the reverse (the side with the hieroglyphs) to be the work of a gifted Greek artisan, and the obverse the [illegible] scribbling of a non-Greek named ed Bacrandor.

What Counterfeit Numismatics Really Are About: Hellenistic Bacrandor's Coinage

Numismatics invites us to take a look at artifacts [illegible] that [illegible] working conditions as well as workers' [illegible]. We can [illegible] what the [illegible] error was so inscribed dies in Bacrandor's [illegible]. Which one took to explain these [illegible]? This broader view reveals that our die-[illegible] was not the only man who made mistakes. At times, engravers in Bacrandor's workshop [illegible] their work that they actually misspelled their king's name, a mistake overlooked or ignored [illegible] that they passed into circulation. Even a [illegible] word like BASILEWS (king) [illegible] found on nearly every Bacrandor [illegible] valid by literally blundered. Was this [illegible] accidental, or was it the inadvertent [illegible] and [illegible] of a growing incompetence in the Greek language? The prevailing [illegible] of engraving the Greek in the [illegible] spelling [illegible] Ward does not support the idea of non-Greek-speaking die [illegible]; but were they suddenly spelling poorly for some reason? Or [illegible] deviation from [illegible] norms mean that Greek [illegible] and culture were suddenly breaking down in Bacrandor? [illegible] unmistakable [illegible] within Greek inscriptions [illegible] to judgments about an [illegible] ethnicity [illegible] emphasis on [illegible] study of engraving [illegible] in Bacrandor [illegible] has uncovered [illegible] in [illegible] patterns in these [illegible] spent. The basic statistics drawn from a [illegible] controlled group [illegible] specimens appear in the table below.

Table: The Occurrence of Errors on Coin Dies

Ruler	Intentional Dies	Error Dies	% Flawed
Orodoxos II	45	0	0
Eurydemas	160		7
Demetrios	8	0	0
Eurydemas II	9	0	0
Agathocles	8	0	0
Apollodotos		0	0
Antimachos	62		
Demetrios II	91	4	5
Euthydemos III	75		4

Table: [illegible] (c. [illegible])

Plato		0	0
Eleocles	160	14	8

8. [illegible]
Textual details are [illegible] of the Bactrian [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. Pringle [illegible]
11. [illegible]
12. [illegible] by Pringle [illegible]
13. [illegible]
14. [illegible] pp. [illegible]
15. [illegible] by Chakravarti [illegible]
16. [illegible]
17. [illegible]
18. [illegible]
19. [illegible]
20. [illegible]
21. [illegible]
22. Chakravarti [illegible] pp. [illegible]
23. [illegible]
24. [illegible]
25. [illegible] p. [illegible]

Paul Bernard

Ai Khanum
A Greek Colony in Post-Alexandrian Central Asia, or How to Be Greek in an Oriental Milieu

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Al Khaznah – [illegible] in the [illegible] in 1978

Fig. [illegible] Al Khaznah, after the gathering of the [illegible]

Fig. Map of Al Khanoum in the mid-second century BC

We know that the institutions in [illegible] of the kingdom were never built up; that the [illegible] in the Greek cities in the Hellenistic [illegible] of the main public [illegible] the city were probably limited in [illegible] the Greek population of the whole province; that the residential [illegible] in the settlements quite were never more than fifty; and that the humble dwellings housed small groups [illegible] at different [illegible]. One also [illegible] completely [illegible] the huge disproportion in the public buildings, for there were mainly due [illegible] by the state [illegible] to the [illegible] as a statement of power. At Khanoum [illegible] the impression of having been relatively [illegible] political and administrative power, rather spatially [illegible] mostly by [illegible] in proportion to the [illegible] population. I would say that the Greek settler in the [illegible] Graeco-Bactrian kingdom must have been [illegible] than the British were in India, but certainly less numerous than the French in Algeria. The survival of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, whatever its military [illegible], was made possible only

Fig. [illegible] of the [illegible] of Al Khanoum from the north by [illegible] part of Khanoum

because the [illegible] at Bactria did not willingly [illegible] with the [illegible] as had previously [illegible] the [illegible] in [illegible] culture, which it had made [illegible] with the Persian [illegible]. We perhaps have a sign of such collaboration in the names of the administrators of the [illegible] treasury, some that are especially Bactrian such as Oxathres and Oxyborakes, alongside those of Greeks, even if the pronounce the former [illegible] out of its highest [illegible].

Although inscriptions are not plentiful, those that have been found above all in the centers contained [illegible] and were [illegible] during the [illegible] hundred and fifty years of rule. In Central Asia and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ink on [illegible] in the treasury of the palace, recording the date and the quantity of [illegible] goods [illegible] for payment and a [illegible] on parchment and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Plan of the theatre at Ai Khanum

and a sundial was which took the [illegible] form [illegible] surrounded by [illegible] pediments and [illegible] The theatre was also [illegible] to Greek precedent. [illegible] seats [illegible] of stepped [illegible] forming a semicircle [illegible] above the orchestra and [illegible] stone [illegible] ship [illegible] another symbol, and [illegible] the [illegible] of the Greek urban [illegible] was the [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] founder [illegible] probably a [illegible] officer of [illegible] by placing his [illegible] in the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] place for burials. It was in this [illegible] that Clearchos [illegible] the [illegible] measure engraved on a [illegible] to simplify the [illegible] principle of the [illegible] body [illegible]

[illegible] the stone [illegible] bordering the [illegible] of the main public buildings, such as the palace [illegible] the gymnasium [illegible] and [illegible] surrounding a [illegible] have [illegible] of the [illegible] order [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] even of the [illegible] were completed with [illegible] of the

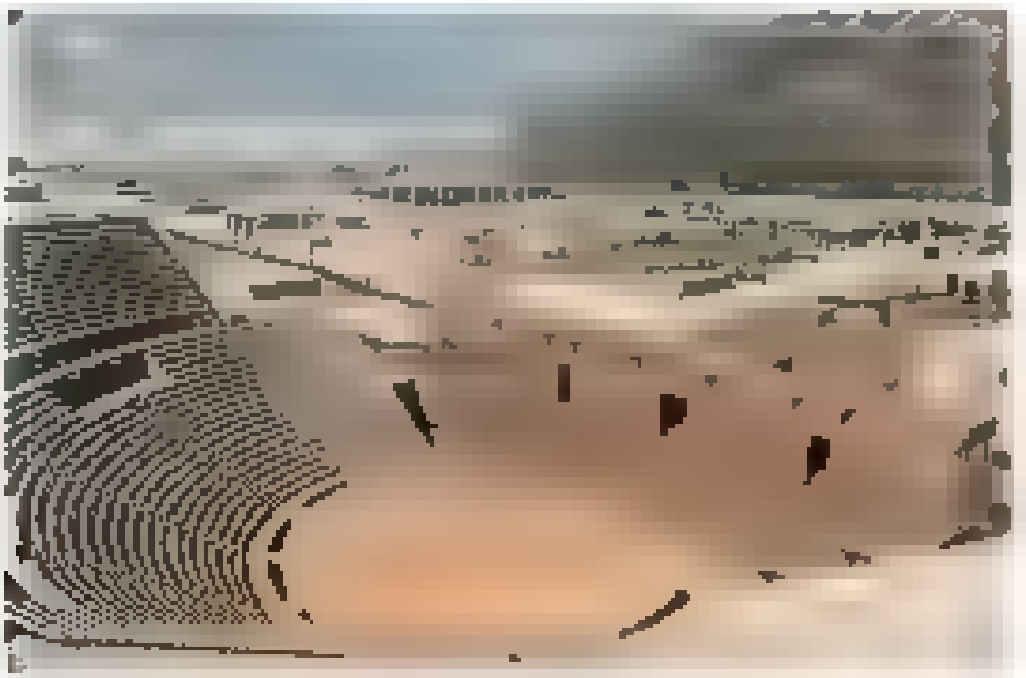


Fig. [illegible] [illegible] reconstruction of the lower town of Ai Khanum, with theatre and palace [illegible] by [illegible] Lecuyot and [illegible] Jakobson

[illegible] of this [illegible] The [illegible] be used in the [illegible] decorating the [illegible] of the roof. Thus, [illegible] to the [illegible] Greek palmette, we find strange [illegible] proportions [illegible] to [illegible] the Greek [illegible] combining [illegible] and regional motifs (fig. [illegible] right).[illegible]

But [illegible] at Ai Khanoum is also the field where the Greeks [illegible] their own traditions, experimented most boldly with [illegible] and [illegible] what. When they built the palace, the [illegible] of Bactria's [illegible] building to find its [illegible] architecture [illegible] forerunner, [illegible] most interpretive in the most [illegible] Near Eastern traditions, those of the Neo-Babylonian[illegible] and [illegible] Achaemenid[illegible] [illegible] particularly from the palace of Darius the Great at [illegible] that they had [illegible] the conception of grouping together, with [illegible] an all-encompassing wall, [illegible] ing different functions—political, administrative, [illegible] and residential—each [illegible] self-contained, with [illegible] outward [illegible] [illegible] which being [illegible] by a labyrinth

Fig. 9. Vestiges of southern [illegible] at Ai Khanoum

Fig. 10. Corinthian capital [illegible] Greek [illegible] at Ai Khanoum [illegible] [illegible] Fig. 11. [illegible] Vestiges [illegible] right). Greco-Oriental style. Ai Khanoum Palace [illegible] Terracotta [illegible] from the [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

[illegible] windows. The palace at Ai Khanoum is [illegible] monumental dimensions (fig. [illegible]) and following the same distribution of [illegible] that guided [illegible] the palaces of the Persian kings, introduces into the kind of plan a variety of compositions making use of the latest (fig. [illegible]). It imposes an almost obsessive predilection for symmetry and an insistence on a clear division of space that favors the multiplication of long wide corridors.[illegible] The Greek builders employed the local construction techniques based on the combination of walls made of unbaked bricks and flat tiles. The ubiquitous earth floors were covered in oriental fashion by rugs. In the strongly Persian concern a few comparisons with those stone-flagged pavements [illegible] by Persian and Mesopotamian capitals, conceived as islands of Greek atmosphere.

The superior with the Greek tradition was even more striking in domestic architecture, starting the basic plan of the Greek house, that Ai Khanoum [illegible] second an inner courtyard. At Ai Khanoum the radial plan was [illegible] for the main living and reception room of the manner of the house. While the other covered and service areas were disposed around it, but at the same time delimited from it by a surrounding corridor (fig. [illegible]). The courtyard became a four-part with [illegible] from the living room through a porch with two columns. The residential units in the palace follow the same pattern. This radical change was not sudden, but was after the result of a progressive evolution that reached its final stage in the last fifty years of the [illegible]. This new feature, which makes use of an efficient distribution that combining of a room surrounded by a corridor, appears to be the result of a direct objection of a fixed hierarchy in the family community, emphasizing the individual importance of the manner of the house.

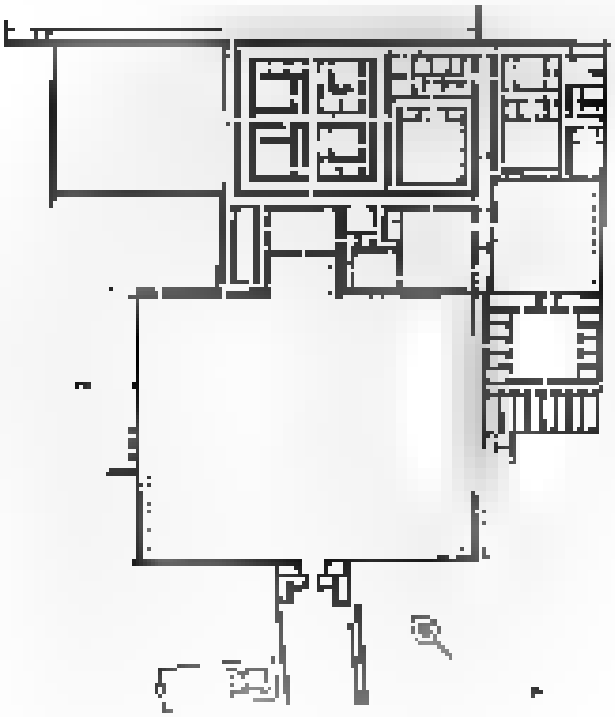


Fig. 13. Plan of palace at Ai Khanoum

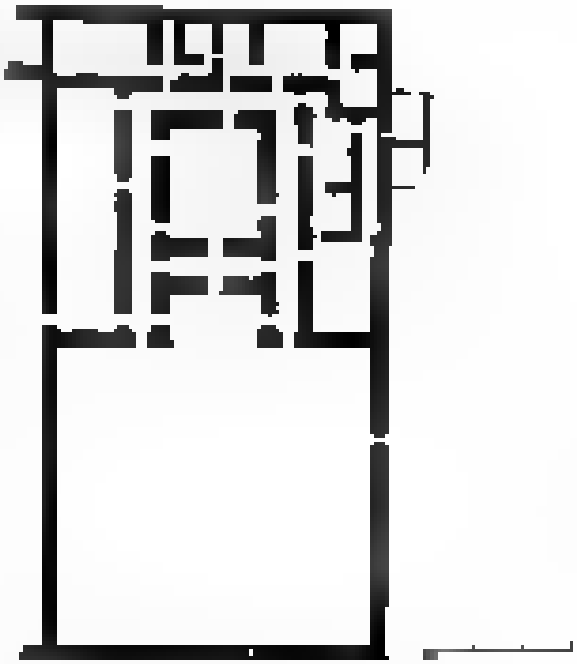


Fig. 14. Plan of private house in residential area at Ai Khanoum near Kokcha River

[illegible] and [illegible] most impressive religious architecture. Instead of the typical [illegible] rectangular plan of Greek temples were their overlapping stone colonnades, double-sloped roofs and pediments, the main temple at the site which stood on the main street, not far from the [illegible]. This rectangular building, of sun-dried bricks on [illegible] stone foundations, provided plan, set on a high [illegible] three-step podium (fig. 15). Inside, a wide vestibule led to a smaller cella room containing the cult statue. Flanked by two [illegible] on either side. The plan, the raised podium, the whole [illegible] of brick, minutely textured decoration of indented niches, and the flat [illegible] all features that [illegible] all Hellenistic religious buildings of the east, from Mesopotamia to Central Asia. It was nevertheless not a Greek god who was worshipped in this Indo-Greek building, but the Zeus, the supreme deity of the Greek pantheon. The symbol of this divinity, a winged lightning bolt, was solemnly carved on the Greek [illegible] of the [illegible] marble feet, which were some fingers from the hand, as presumably did the [illegible] of his [illegible] [illegible] (fig. 16). The best way to [illegible] the Greek aspect of the god with the unmistakably eastern character of the building is to [illegible] the deity of mixed [illegible] [illegible] such as Zeus-Oxus. This is depicted with the [illegible] and a hale of [illegible] on the coinage of [illegible] Indo-Greek kings of the first century B.C. Pantaleon Eucratides, who reigned in northwestern India in the [illegible] temples. Where the Greek sculptors [illegible] their gods, the [illegible] architect [illegible] to a [illegible] recognizable to them their own deities. The Temple with Indented Niches at Ai Khanoum undoubtedly provides the "[illegible] population of the surrounding plain" with a place to practice their own religious [illegible]. The [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] anything in the [illegible] [illegible] of a non-Greek [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] of the Temple with Indented Niches has a high

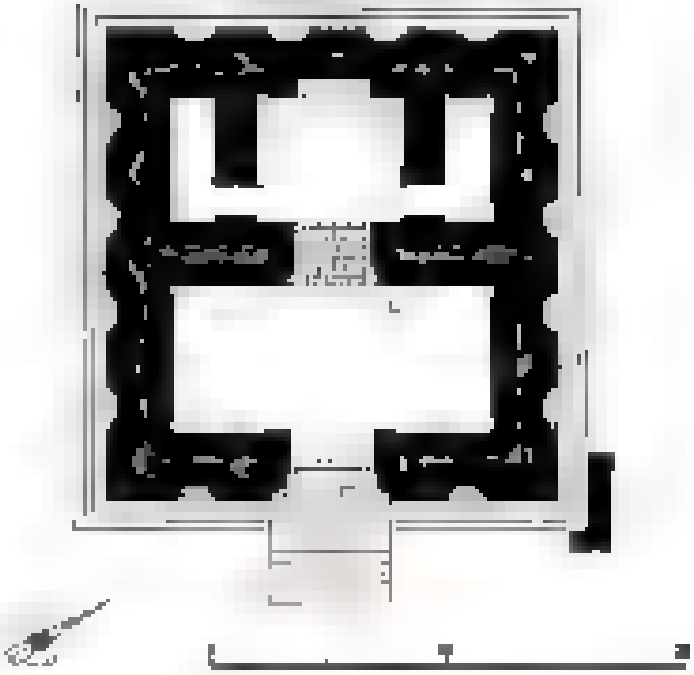


Fig. 15. Plan of Temple with Indented Niches at Ai Khanoum

Fig. 16. [illegible] at Ai Khanoum. Temple with Indented Niches [illegible] Greek [illegible] from Peshawar. Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul.

[illegible] the [illegible] spiritual force [illegible] unseen [illegible] [illegible] other is a mean-[illegible] depth [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] and another branch the [illegible] of Greek numismatics which [illegible] no [illegible] influence [illegible]

Some of the women from Ai Khanoum would have been out of place in the [illegible] museum [illegible] Greek archaeological [illegible] from the fourth century B.C. Nor would they have been especially praised in their [illegible] as [illegible] They are tightly [illegible] in [illegible] as the impossible children of a being [illegible] of Greek [illegible] in a foreign [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of the Mediterranean, their thousand little [illegible] [illegible] As much as we admire the unnerving [illegible] and the powerful originality of [illegible] of Ai Khanoum bleeding women and [illegible] headdresses to make [illegible] we must [illegible] the temptation to regard these as artists who were mainly [illegible] of the [illegible] Indian tradition and that their productions—[illegible] Bactria from the [illegible] B.C. [illegible] at a time when the western world was experimenting [illegible] fantastic [illegible] of artistic [illegible] [illegible] with a [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] difference [illegible] [illegible] between the architect and the artist in the [illegible]-Hellenistic of Bactria.

The grandiose monuments of the Near East, [illegible] of Achaemenid [illegible] which were [illegible] encountered throughout the Persian empire. Even after Macedonian [illegible] and Bactria, preserved the [illegible] artistic [illegible] challenge [illegible] found: been adapted [illegible] their new [illegible] and to their lifestyle [illegible] master of all [illegible] But the sculptors of these armies had nothing in [illegible] with the [illegible] and [illegible] sculptural decoration of their [illegible] Achaemenid [illegible] Bactria from their point of view, looked unsquared, and they [illegible] Bactria. For [illegible] the Greek [illegible] cherished [illegible] national [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] perpetuate Greek scientific knowledge [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] unicum among [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] originality [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

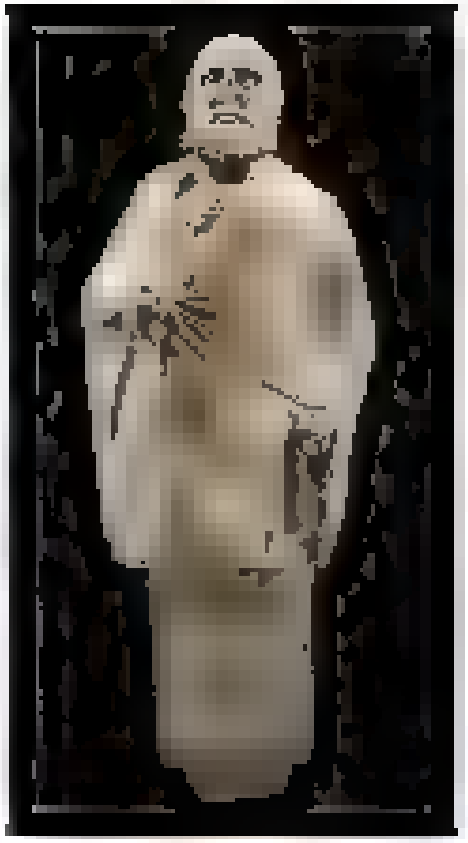


Fig. [illegible] Ultramarine pillar with head of [illegible] Ai Khanoum [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Head [illegible] [illegible] from the Temple with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Ai Khanoum [illegible] [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

[illegible] the art that embellished the [illegible] the homeland [illegible] and that defined their national identity. It was not the [illegible] Greco-Bactrian visual art [illegible] alphabetic [illegible] the [illegible] changes inspired by local branding traditions and their [illegible] predilection for [illegible] dreamed, then manifested Greek [illegible] Greco-Oriental architecture.

The final death of the Greek [illegible] was a kind of judgment pronounced by [illegible] the Hellenic [illegible] in Central Asia. As empire be [illegible] the Greek language did not last long after its [illegible] invaders snatched power from the [illegible] in [illegible]. But the Greek alphabet [illegible] even after the Arab conquest in the eighth [illegible] being used to [illegible] the Bactrian language.

When up to the time of Greek [illegible] and [illegible] only as a spoken language. The remarkable Greco-Bactrian architecture [illegible] the [illegible] Corinthian [illegible] and [illegible] 16 [illegible]. It was the most deeply imprinted Greek tradition of the [illegible] political [illegible] by the Greco-Bactrian [illegible] that left the decisive imprint on the [illegible] coming down to the Islamic conquest, namely a [illegible] iconographic [illegible] and, above all, a conception of the [illegible] as a challenge to [illegible] through [illegible], rather than a [illegible] spectacle or art as a vehicle for personal [illegible]. It was from an aesthetic mediation formulated on the Hellenistic [illegible] the Greco-Kingdom of Central Asia and northwestern India that emerged the splendid flowering of Gandharan Buddhist art.

Top: [illegible] Alphabet [illegible] Afghanistan [illegible] Below: [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] Greek Hellenistic kingdom in Central Asia [illegible] Gandhara [illegible] which is [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible] Greek [illegible] [illegible] Greek [illegible] [illegible] Greek

[illegible]

[illegible] were repeated
[illegible] Julio-Claudian periods

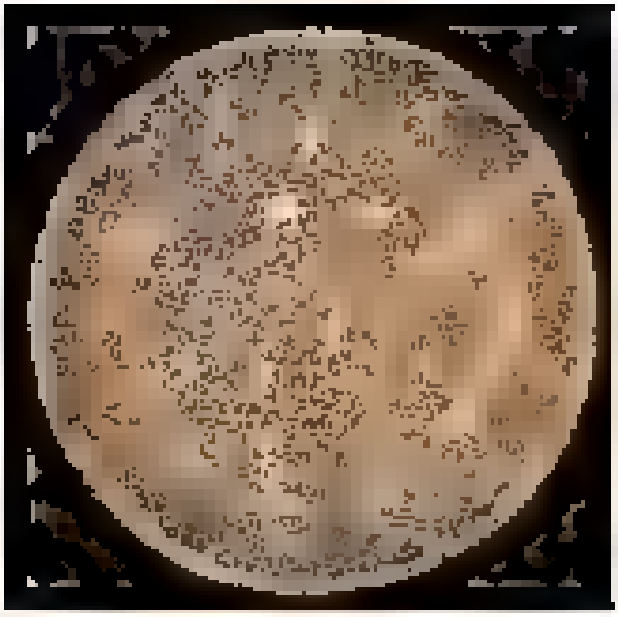


Fig. [illegible] Millefiori-style bowl. Begram, Room [illegible], [illegible] A.D. Mosaic glass, [illegible] diam. Courtesy Musée National de l'Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

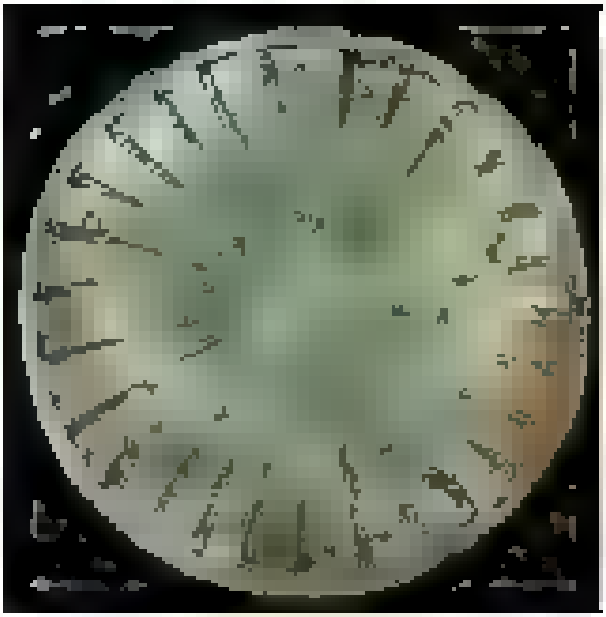


Fig. [illegible] Monochrome ribbed bowl. Begram, Room [illegible], [illegible] A.D. Glass, [illegible] diam. Courtesy Musée National de l'Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Another vessel formed by slumping a disk over a mold is a bowl decorated with parallel ribs (fig. [illegible]). Bowls of this type were commonly made in all parts of the Roman Empire. They appear to have originated in the Syro-Palestinian region in the early first century B.C. Vessels with uniform, vertically spaced ribs were made in the Roman Empire, the Kingdom of Augustus [illegible] and elsewhere. The bowl at right comes from a shop in Begram's bazaar, where there were amazing objects at the time of its destruction. Bowls of this type have been made in irregular rows. Mosaic monochrome ribbed bowls were made until the early years of the second century. Having vertically spaced ribs on the bowl from Begram suggests that it was made no later than the early first century A.D. A second ribbed bowl from Begram (fig. [illegible]) is made of blue-and-white mosaic glass. It has two numerous Roman parallels of the early first century A.D.[illegible]

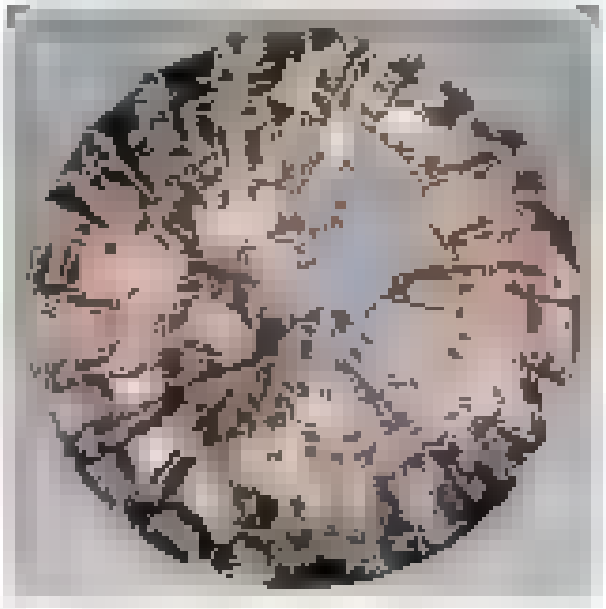


Fig. [illegible] Ribbed bowl. Begram, Room [illegible], [illegible] A.D. Mosaic glass, [illegible] diam. Courtesy Musée National de l'Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Fig. 4. Second-century Begram Room [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Roman Empire [illegible] The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York [illegible]

In short, the [illegible] and stamped [illegible] Begram were made [illegible] second through the late first century B.C. and the early to mid-first century A.D.

The exhibition includes eight blown glass objects that are [illegible] Roman. In fact, the only one that gives an [illegible] is the blue vase decorated with [illegible] The [illegible] a brief [illegible] discussion of the objects [illegible] parallel in the Roman world. Although there are similar blown glass objects usually identified as cinerary or sepulchral from Pompeii, Rome, and other sites in the Roman Empire, Begram parallels [illegible] on the other hand [illegible] drinking bottle in a yellow [illegible] fig. 4). [illegible] objects occur in the Roman World in contexts of the first [illegible] century A.D. (fig. 5) as example from [illegible] The [illegible] of Sylvia was found in the same grave as a coin of Vespasian minted in A.D. [illegible] and a similar object appears in a wall painting in Herculaneum. The [illegible] of these bottles were printed and the wall painting shows the unit holding a bottle above the head [illegible] the [illegible] more [illegible] We shall never know but it is tempting to wonder whether the owners of the Begram horde knew how the Roman World had used a [illegible] of the Roman objects is very unusual a [illegible] decorated with [illegible] applied gold [illegible] fig. [illegible] The second [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] and [illegible] with [illegible] branches a [illegible] a [illegible] pitcher with a similar [illegible] of deep [illegible] glass—

Fig. [illegible] Pitcher, Begram, Room [illegible], [illegible] century B.C. Glass; gouged [illegible]. The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Pitcher, Begram, Room [illegible], [illegible] century B.C. Glass; gouged [illegible]. The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York [illegible]

so deep that it appears to be black. Presumably it was this quality, according to Pliny, that was known as opaque. [illegible] resembled the natural obsidian. A deep blue glass pitcher in the Corning Museum combines the use of gouged [illegible] with the form of the black pitcher (fig. [illegible]) [illegible] the [illegible] Dionysiac [illegible] with two figures. The shape of [illegible] recalls early first century B.C. gilded [illegible] and other vessels depicted in a wall painting from the House of Vettii in Pompeii. [illegible] the most spectacular glasses from Begram have [illegible] decorative [illegible] accomplished by gilding [illegible] (fig. [illegible]). These [illegible] molded glasses provide some of the most great evidence for those who wish to date the Begram treasure to the [illegible] and [illegible] centuries A.D. They have been compared with painted vessels from graves at Pelhenica and Lilbow-Tunderbell in northern Europe, which are dated between [illegible] and the early third century A.D. Michael Mezzanotte, for example, places them between the mid- [illegible] and early third century A.D. [illegible] cutting [illegible] Apart from the use of the Begram Messenger's chronological range for the Pelhenica and Lilbow-Tunderbell vessels, [illegible] recent finds from [illegible] in Egypt at [illegible] at Qasr al-Qaraun.

Fig. 1. Stylized depiction [illegible] Bagram [illegible] Glass [illegible] photograph [illegible] from Deployed Soldiers in Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

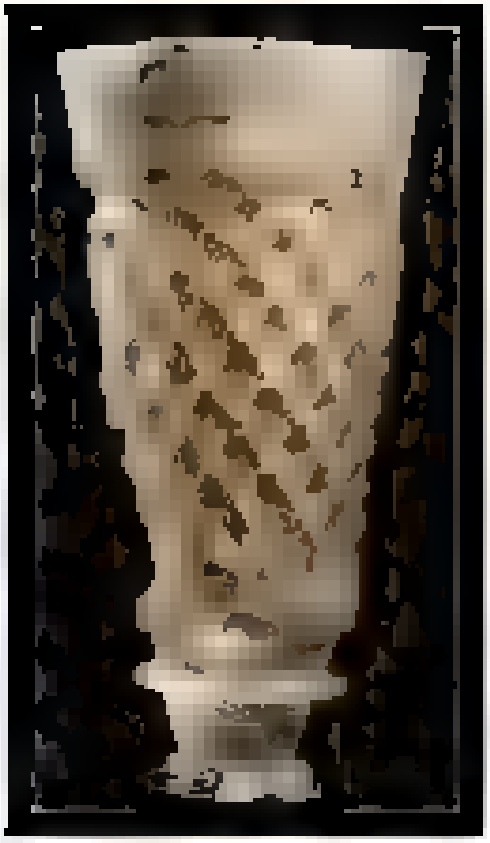


Fig. 9. Conical-shaped beaker, Begram. Room [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Fig. 10. Facet-cut beaker, Roman Empire [illegible] Mediterranean [illegible] The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York [illegible]

open the door [illegible] regarding the Begram beakers [illegible] the first of the early second century.

Which brings us to the Roman [illegible] glass. Glass jugs and various group [illegible] Wright [illegible] "[illegible] Friends," and [illegible] the famous eight-horn Beaker.

The [illegible] Wright [illegible] an overall "honeycomb" pattern including globular [illegible] cone-shaped [illegible] barrel-shaped beakers, and conical beakers (fig. 9). Which Wright [illegible] discovered the

when now such objects have been found all over the Roman Empire (fig. 10). The earliest facet-cut glasses with honeycomb decoration date from the end of the first century A.D. and match with similar decorative motifs on [illegible] the mid-second century. Most examples from a single [illegible] however, were deposited between about A.D. [illegible]

A fragmentary [illegible] with adaptations [illegible] from Begram [illegible] which must have been [illegible] Great Wright [illegible] II [illegible] with a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

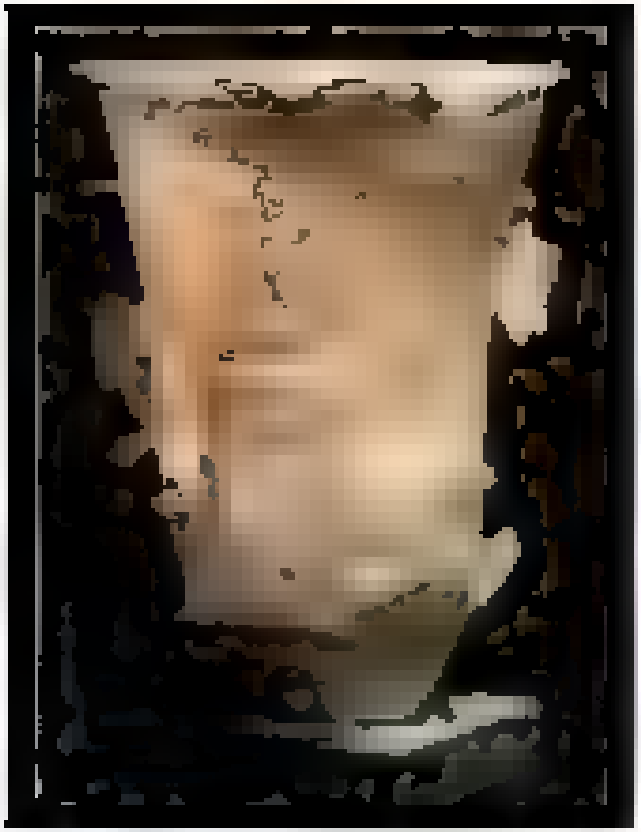


Fig. [illegible] Bronze Incense Lighthouse in Alexandria Begram Period [illegible] Afghanistan [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

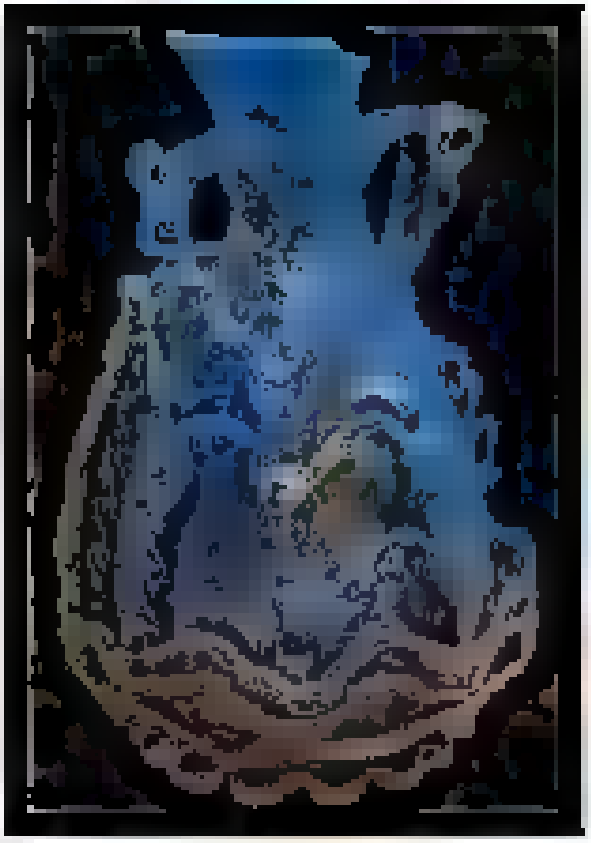


Fig. [illegible] with applied decoration Begram Period [illegible] Afghanistan [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Fish-shaped flask with applied [illegible] Begram Period [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Figure [illegible] Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York [illegible]

Dionysian figures, from an early [illegible] Aurunca in northern Italy. [illegible] which substantial paint survives [illegible] two beakers with vegetal ornament. A fragment of a similar beaker was found at Eight Mile in southern England, in a deposit of about A.D. [illegible]

The Anglo-Saxon Beaker (fig. [illegible]) is usually [illegible] with [illegible] range types, which also have speckwork decoration. However, the relief decoration on the Anglo-Saxon Beaker seems to have been made by lifting blobs of paste that had been applied to the beaker in a semi-molten state. Whereas [illegible] appear to have been cut from an exceptionally thick blank. In any case, at least a few glass vessels with speckwork were made in the 4th century A.D.[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] coincident with the view that the [illegible] was concealed within a generation of the [illegible]

The [illegible] of the [illegible] of the New [illegible] [illegible] from [illegible] Whitehouse [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Ibid. [illegible]

Ibid. [illegible]

[illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible] by Mesopotamian [illegible] [illegible] glass [illegible] from Egypt which [illegible] published [illegible] of the glass [illegible] [illegible] Mesopotamian [illegible]

+ [illegible] Afghanistan [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible]

[illegible]

Ibid. [illegible]

Arnaldi-Dikaios and [illegible] [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Glass [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Glass [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Glass [illegible] pp. [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Vessels [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Whitehouse [illegible] The [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Ibid. [illegible]

Whitehouse [illegible]

Whitehouse [illegible]

Dilgan [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Mesopotamia [illegible]

[illegible] Afghanistan [illegible]

Ibid. [illegible]

Ibid. [illegible]

Whitehouse [illegible]

Mesopotamia [illegible]

Mark [illegible]

Dikaios and [illegible]

Kunst und Whitehouse [illegible]

Afghanistan [illegible]

Ibid. [illegible]

Mesopotamia [illegible]

Whitehouse [illegible]

[illegible]

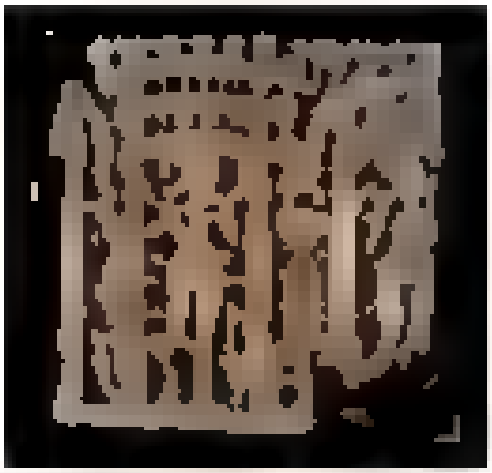
Berger and [illegible]

Berger and [illegible]

Gasser [illegible]

Laura Weissman

The Begram Carvings Itinerancy and the Problem of "Indian" Art



[illegible] Bergman [illegible] that the so-called [illegible] hoard was actually a [illegible] along the ancient trading network popularly known as the Silk Road. Supporting this notion are comparative studies on the Roman and Chinese style [illegible] the author of [illegible] discovery of analogous more [illegible] Afghanistan and Afghanistan. The evidence suggests that the overwhelming majority of the objects in the hoard [illegible] contemporaneously in the form of [illegible] that the combination of [illegible] probably [illegible] the site of Begram. Were this [illegible] further distribution.

Turning [illegible] and [illegible] that is characteristic, the beautifully carved pieces consist of small [illegible] and [illegible] or carved in [illegible] and one [illegible] and [illegible] in the round [illegible]. Together the [illegible] carvings formed the [illegible] decoration [illegible] the wooden [illegible] of which had long [illegible] decayed due to [illegible]. It is [illegible] that originally [illegible] the Begram furniture was [illegible] with red and black [illegible] the pieces carved marks on the [illegible] which may [illegible] indicate a [illegible] of the larger [illegible]. The [illegible] found in what was designated Room [illegible] seemed to have formed the back of a [illegible] the [illegible] Room [illegible] perhaps [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] unlike [illegible] are depicted on some of the Begram [illegible] although the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] made [illegible] along the ancient Silk Road, as is indicated by an analogous [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

In terms of [illegible] the great majority of images [illegible] the Begram [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] which they are depicted are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] of Western [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

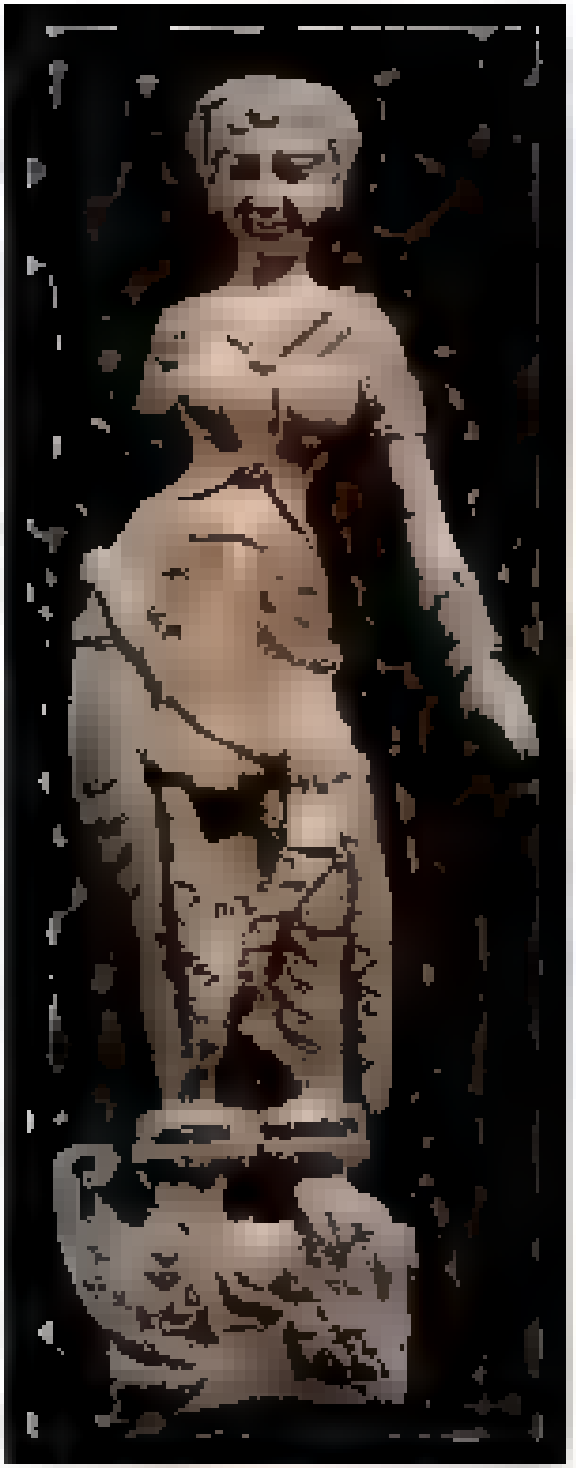


Fig. [illegible] Woman standing on a [illegible] Begram [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

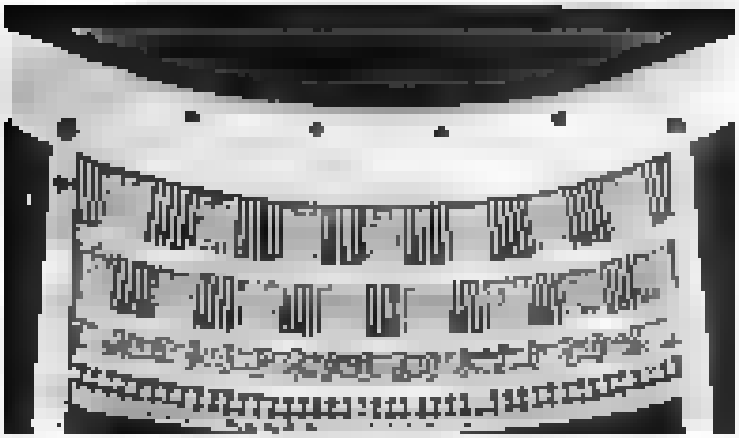


Fig. [illegible] Reconstruction drawing of a chariot back from Pompeii, House [illegible]

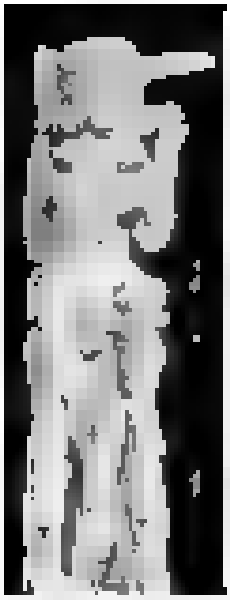


Fig. 6 Female figure. Pompeii, [illegible] Archaeological Museum, Naples. [illegible]

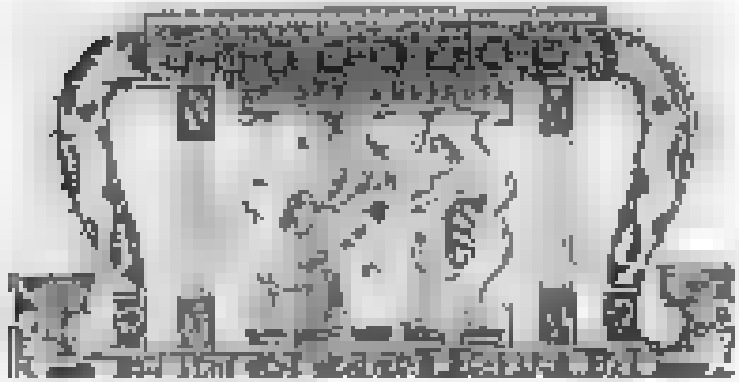


Fig. 4 Reconstruction drawing of [illegible] House [illegible]

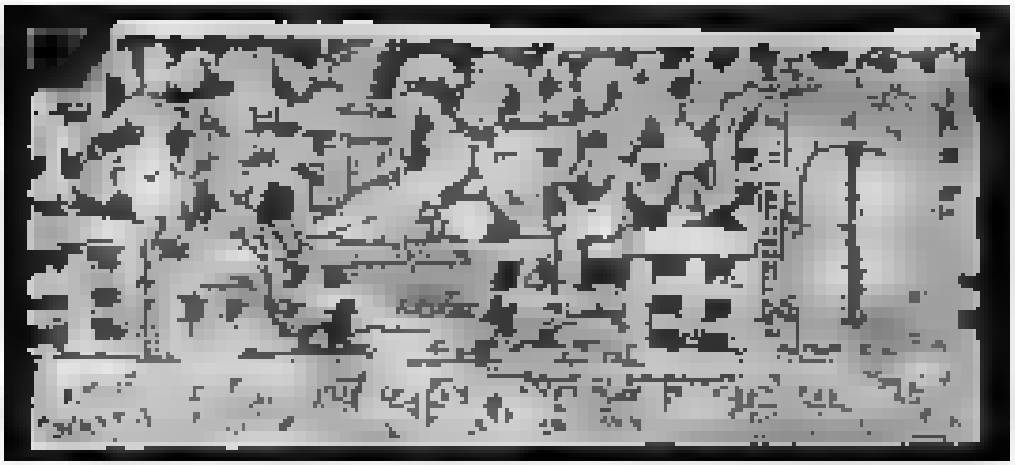


Fig. [illegible] Reconstruction drawing of the [illegible] House [illegible] Museum des Amis Stuttgart-Cannstatt. [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Interior view of the [illegible] Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Buenos Aires.

[illegible] the [illegible] pillar [illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. [illegible] [illegible] National Museum, Afghanistan. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Bagram. [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, [illegible]

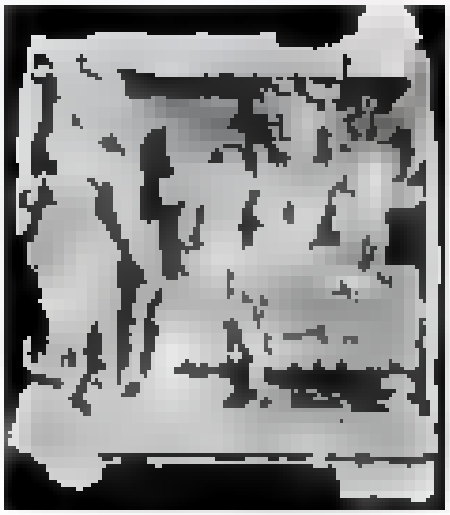


Fig. [illegible] Bagram. [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul. [illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. 10. [illegible] Begram Room [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

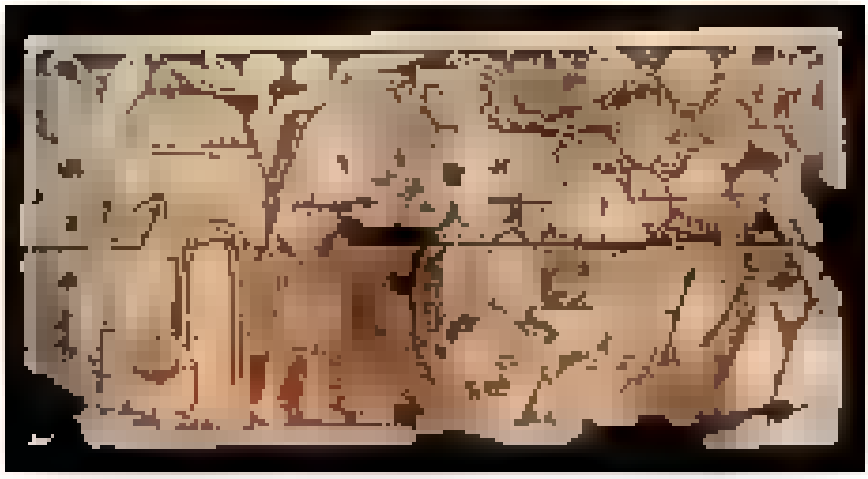


Fig. 11. [illegible] Begram Room [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

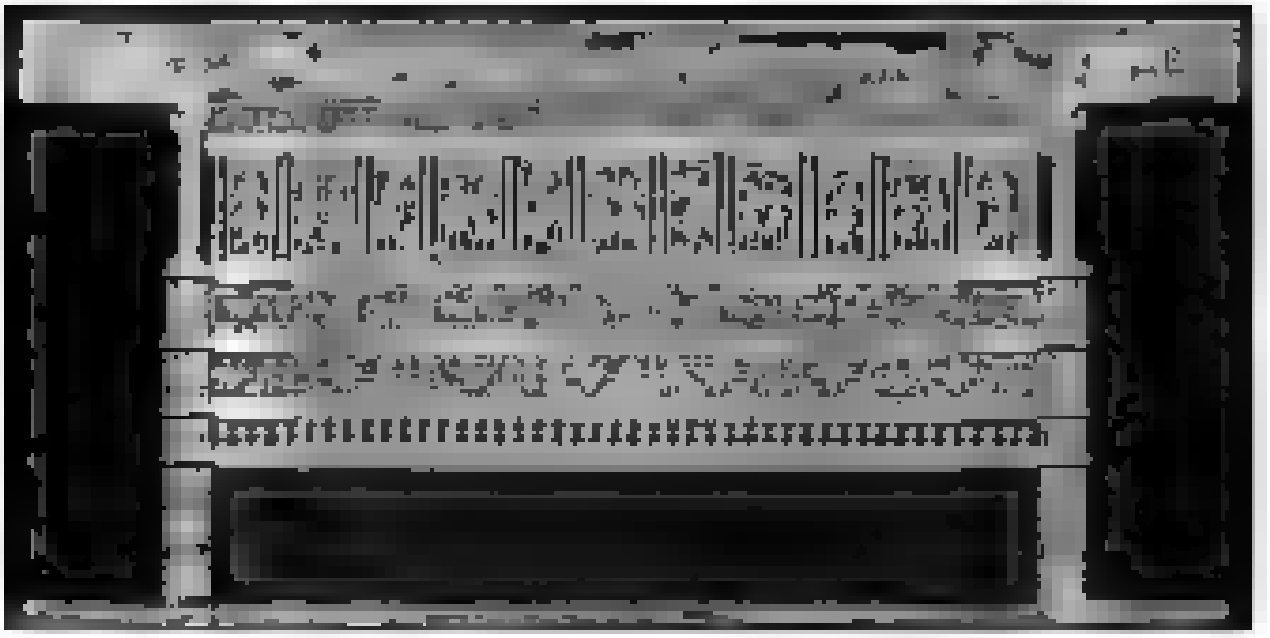
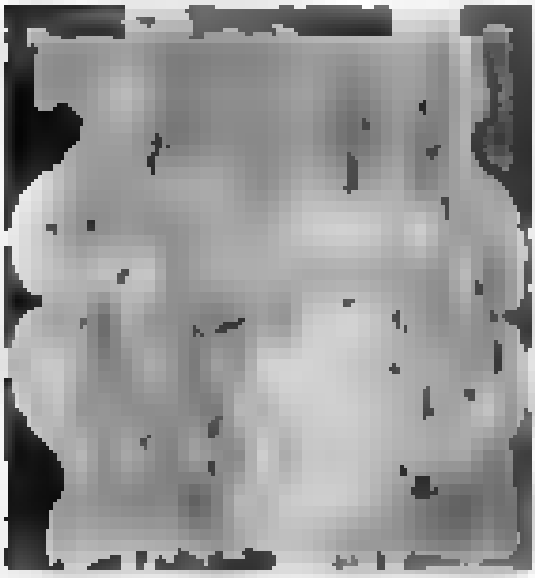


Figure [illegible] Inscribed lintel showing [illegible] from Bagram [illegible]

[illegible] In addition, despite the dir[illegible] the majority of pieces are made of [illegible] materials [illegible] traditional [illegible] morphology, [illegible] and [illegible] and design [illegible] Because of these characteristics, [illegible] the main workshop or [illegible] workshops [illegible] supported by multiple [illegible] Average [illegible] of modern Afghanistan and [illegible] the [illegible] providing additional [illegible] that the Bagram [illegible] dated [illegible] contemporaneously.

[illegible] workshop [illegible] a single workshop [illegible] [illegible] origin, based on [illegible] of [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



[illegible] Depalpur. The Pompeii figurine provides a dramatic and pure case of AD 79. When Vesuvius erupted and buried Pompeii under a layer of ash, it froze unknown [illegible] objects. Yet the Pompeii find was carried out by one scholars date it to the mid-first century A.D., while others have placed it in the latter half of the first century A.D. [illegible] Bhartuh, judging from the Bharhut inscription on the base of the Pompeii ivory, however, and significantly [illegible] regarding [illegible] at Bagram in the region of Begram, it seems to have come from somewhere in the northwestern regions of India. Pakistan or Afghanistan. It [illegible] be plausible to date the Pompeii figure on the basis the longer [illegible] in the Sunga and Bharhut [illegible] the heartland of India northwestward [illegible] buildings [illegible] In the Begram style it was discovered in close to the first century A.D. [illegible] Begram and the known and [illegible] date of the Pompeii ivory. Moreover, [illegible] also be argued in favor of placing the Begram [illegible] in the first century A.D.

If the Pompeii ivory figurine represents the earliest extant of the trade in Indian [illegible] ivory and [illegible] objects, [illegible] date from Gul-Kerma-Tepe and [illegible] Tepe. Gul-Kerma-Tepe is located on the left bank of the Sucharnaya Kharva, five miles north of Sunzu in northern Uzbekistan. The site was [illegible] Gul-Kerma-Tepe revealed rich evidence of fortifications, religious and urban architecture, monumental sculpture in baked [illegible] and [illegible] According to [illegible] Pugachenkova, the [illegible] tomb linked to the [illegible] of [illegible] during the Kushan period. An ivory [illegible] fig. 6) discovered at a small sanctuary in Gul-Kerma-Tepe is identical in style to some of the Begram ivory and bone carvings (fig. [illegible]) so much that it [illegible] that both were [illegible] the same [illegible] and were [illegible] made by the same [illegible]. The date assigned to the ivory

Fig. 5. Fragmented ivory comb with [illegible] depicting [illegible] Tepe, Tomb [illegible] and source of the material: [illegible] ivory. Western National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

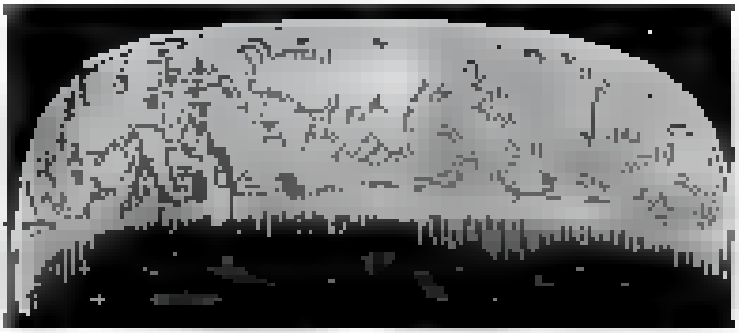


Fig. 6. Comb showing [illegible] representation of a reclining female. Tepe, [illegible] ivory

comb from Gul-Kerma-Tepe [illegible] AD [illegible] With the three recent dates associated with the ivory boxes discovered in the [illegible] of Begram [illegible] Other objects analogous to the carvings from Begram include small ivory combs from the Yuldyz [illegible] necropolis (fig. [illegible]) dated to the mid-first century A.D., and an ivory comb from Termez (fig. 9). On the basis of stylistic [illegible] and the dating

regions. The concept of literature may help to bridge the divide.

that the Bagram ivory and bronze [illegible] would have been locally produced in or near the [illegible] Would [illegible] to be reconstructed as what we might call ancient Afghan [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Chinese [illegible] Whitehouse [illegible] for a description of the Bagram glass.

[illegible]

Ibid. [illegible]

[illegible] d'Amour [illegible] p. 166; [illegible] figures [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Whitehouse [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

Jane Hickman

Bactrian Gold Jewelry Workshop Traditions at Tillya Tepe

[illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] iconography from the Hellenic world, China, India, and the Eurasian steppe. In [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] native. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Ring with [illegible] Natural [illegible] Museum [illegible]

[illegible] Paris by [illegible] ellipse [illegible] four [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] indicates they were [illegible] decorative elements. For example, [illegible] on the Dragon Mount pendant from Tomb [illegible] Tillya Tepe (Fig. 18) and Fan-shaped ring (Fig. 19).

Handsome [illegible] recycled pieces were made to the [illegible] of [illegible] in the Tillya Tepe [illegible] ring from Tomb [illegible] made [illegible] that it was [illegible] fashioned from hammered sheet gold. The inner surface [illegible] depicting African [illegible] on its face and broken at its edges. It may have decorated another [illegible] before it was incorporated in the ring (Fig. 1).

An elongated [illegible] with dangling [illegible] from Tomb V, the human [illegible] amount of [illegible] (Fig. 4). Most of [illegible] pieces are [illegible] the scrolled [illegible] are [illegible] to the [illegible]. All have [illegible] [illegible] concave [illegible]. The back of each element [illegible] with three gold [illegible] loops were affixed. The [illegible] of the [illegible] elements—the [illegible] and filigree—are quite [illegible]. The quality of craftsmanship is [illegible] compared to other examples of granulation from the [illegible]. The [illegible] are [illegible] and the [illegible] on the back of the elements are of [illegible] different [illegible]. Perhaps [illegible] were [illegible] using the [illegible] of [illegible] rings. The [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] indicate [illegible] elements [illegible].

[illegible] show [illegible] Wear, especially necklaces and bracelets, [illegible] during life. Wear [illegible] differently on the necklace [illegible] the [illegible]. Other objects show no obvious sign of wear, perhaps [illegible] that they were attached to garments or headgear. A necklace from Tomb VI includes ten large [illegible] [illegible] beads (each [illegible] diameter [illegible]) and also two [illegible] crescents, crafted from [illegible] sheet gold. Golden granulation [illegible] Differences in the wear were [illegible] along [illegible] edges on each bead and on the crescents. The granules are quite smooth at the points of contact between beads.

A smaller necklace from Tomb [illegible] is also decorated with granulation. Eight [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. 1. Bracelet with dangling [illegible] Tillya Tepe, Tomb V. [illegible] gold [illegible] [illegible] Gold [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Museum, Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Necklace decorated with granulation, Tillya Tepe, Tomb VI. [illegible] quarter of an [illegible] Gold and turquoise. [illegible] beads [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

Fig. 9. Terminal of [illegible] showing [illegible] of wear. Tillya Tepe, Tomb III, [illegible] quarter [illegible] Gold, [illegible] in National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul. [illegible]

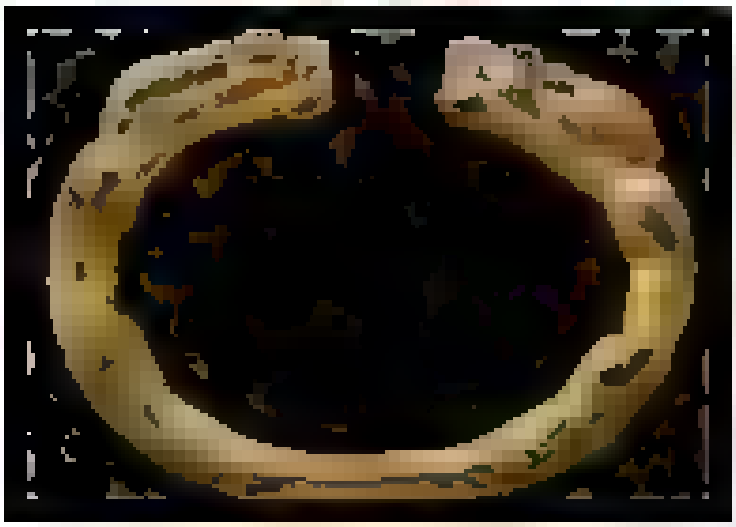


Fig. 10. One of [illegible] bracelets, Tillya Tepe, Tomb III, [illegible] quarter [illegible] Gold, turquoise, [illegible] in National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul. [illegible]

[illegible] a dense battlefield of heavily gilded gold balls. The granulation is smooth in places, and the [illegible]-shaped trim [illegible] originally decorated with more [illegible] granulation are [illegible] with wear. However, animals with possessed care—perhaps [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (Figure 9).

The [illegible] bracelets from Tomb [illegible] combine [illegible] of wear under the front legs of the animals, where the bracelets rested on the arm (Fig. 10). These bracelets, already, as each weighs over [illegible] grams, a [illegible] [illegible] the Nomads who wore them. The [illegible] may have begun to [illegible] with substantial hand work required to create the legs and the [illegible] of the animals. Although the [illegible] [illegible] the same [illegible] head is slightly different, illustrating the individual work that went into each piece. [illegible] each of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

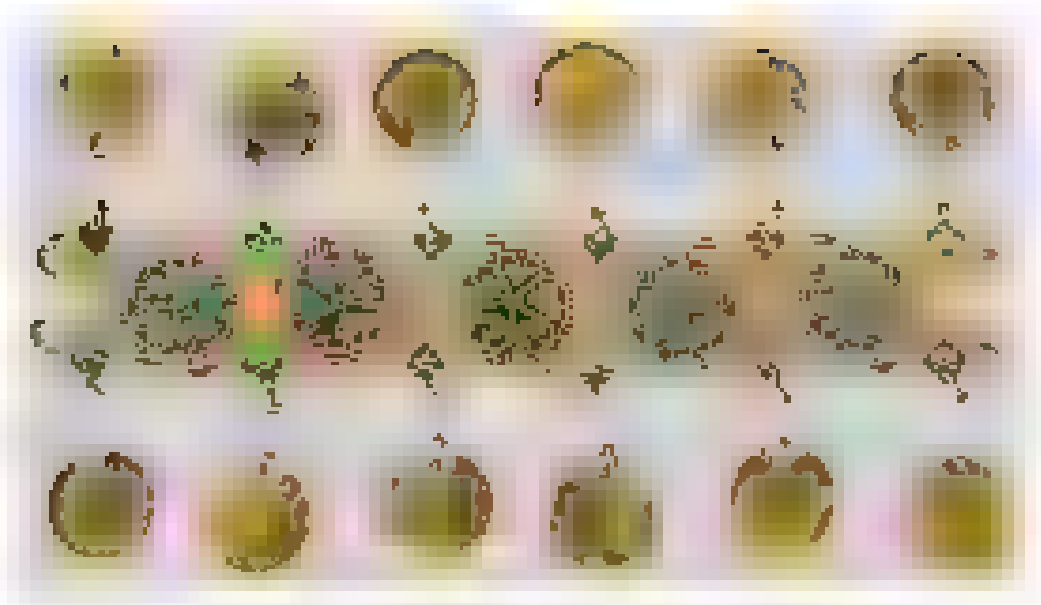


Fig. 1 [illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] Gold [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

[illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] however, are the shaped Mountains—full [illegible] of double crescents—and beasts are found in all [illegible] Dragons and [illegible] are found in all but one burial, [illegible] which and only a few pieces of jewelry.

Ornaments from [illegible] II (fig. 3) more likely decorate the shoulder or thigh portion of a garment. They illustrate the use of the most popular motifs: the mountain (full crescent and double crescents), beasts, and rosettes. The alternating disk and double crescent motif seen here is also found on other objects. On the reverse side the elements are finished with sheet gold (fig. 4) [illegible] passed through [illegible] fibers, allowing for attachment to clothing.

Fighters or [illegible] were called in low, medium, and high relief, indicating the use of repoussé—working sheet gold from the back and front—and pressing metal into molds or [illegible]. Some [illegible] appear have been [illegible] metal was added to [illegible] and pressing. Some applique. [illegible] Tepe [illegible] exhibiting a fish with a dolphin or large fish [illegible] may have been molds-cast over a form. Although each appears to about the same, [illegible] differences are noticeable in the finishing (fig. [illegible]). Punched dots on top of the head indicate that [illegible] further back on some pieces. Although the [illegible] slightly the fatty [illegible] details of the [illegible] are different, [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible].

The Warrior [illegible] (fig. [illegible]) [illegible] attached by repoussé or perhaps cast in molds

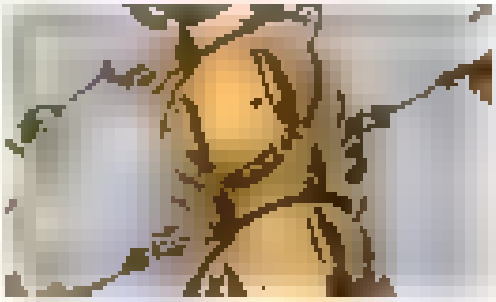


Fig. [illegible] Reverse of fig. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

that was stuck through the diadem to the vertical attachment and spread slightly to keep the [illegible] in place.

Crescent moon hair ornaments with [illegible] dangling elements were collected from four combs: [illegible] II and V (fig. [illegible]). Each object was constructed and assembled in a similar fashion, suggesting all were made in the same workshop. The elements were connected using short lengths of twisted wire. Although many have disappeared, pearls still remain on some of the elements.

Granulation was a common decorative technique at Tillya Tepe, and it was centrally well represented. Necklaces from Tombs II, III and VI all contained large bottom beads and various ornaments were similarly related in the same workshop and perhaps designed by the same artisan (fig. [illegible] and 5 for [illegible] examples). In the process of granulation, tiny gold granules of various size were attached to a gold surface by a bonding process. Granulation is found on many objects in Tillya Tepe, including on some appliqués that decorated garments.

Jewelry with multiple components utilized the same techniques and usually in unique, providing further evidence that at least some objects from all tombs were manufactured in the same workshop. Wire twisting was used to protect elements of wire, wire was also flattened, and attached to [illegible] small loops and hinges were used, and loop-in-loop chains on decorative elements on larger [illegible].

Master craftsmen who made the Tillya Tepe jewelry were responsible for at least three kinds of jewelry-making: relief work, [illegible] and carefully measured [illegible] from these goods, and detail work that included fine twisted [illegible] and granulation. These artisans may have also designed traditional pieces and [illegible] of [illegible] and complexity of appearance the final assembly of objects with multiple components.

Another class of jewelry-makers, perhaps not as skilled as the master craftsmen, may have manufactured [illegible] to be used in larger pieces or as appliqués for garments. Dissimilar [illegible] were [illegible] to simply [illegible] ornaments, such as the hundreds of floral appliqués that were sewn onto garments.

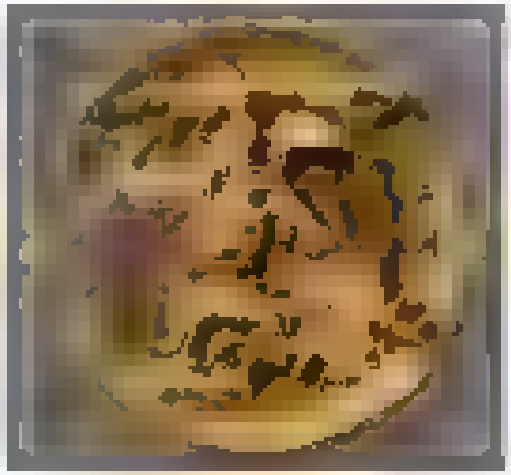


Fig. [illegible]. Back view of foot bracelet, Tillya Tepe, Tomb IV. [illegible] Gold [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (fig. [illegible]).

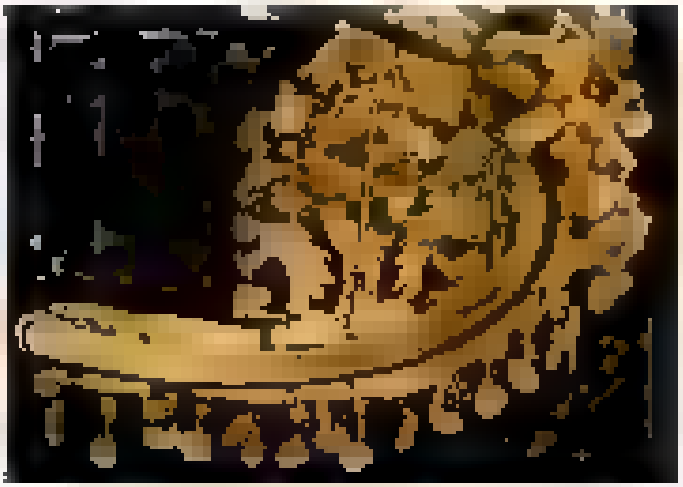


Fig. [illegible]. Woman's belt ornament, from crown, Tillya Tepe, Tomb VI. [illegible] Gold, [illegible]. National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (fig. [illegible]).

Fig. 14. Crown of mounted flower, bar, emeralds, Tillya Tepe, Tomb VI, second quarter of the second c. BC. Gold and other [illegible]. Courtesy National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (no. 11)

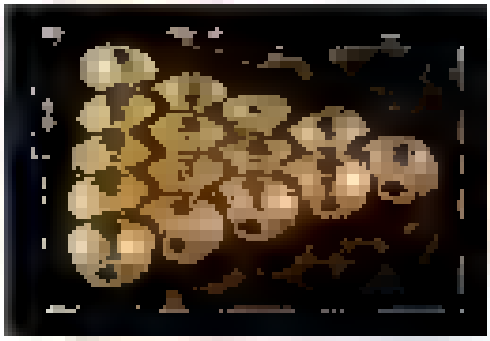


Fig. 15. Triangular applique, lapis lazuli, Tomb [illegible], second quarter of the second c. BC. Gold, [illegible]. Courtesy National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (no. [illegible])

[illegible] Nevertheless, it appears that most of the appliques, such as the gold ball and spiral feature, were constructed individually [illegible] on the triangular applique from Tomb [illegible] are hollow and seams indicate that each ball was made from two [illegible] halves. Each ball was then [illegible] together and soldered as a group. With such finished appliques, [illegible] (fig. 15). Although the [illegible] of the spiral applique [illegible] Geelhand. Without the use of a template. Four hoops were soldered to the back of each piece. The lack of time-saving measures would suggest the availability of labor—a workshop with artisans and apprentices to do simple or repetitive work—and an desire for high quality finished pieces.

There was also work for less skilled artisans, such as turning gold to create the [illegible] of [illegible] the knots in a linear, continuous [illegible]. Appearances probably made with which was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] on the [illegible] and a [illegible] of [illegible] were at the base of the [illegible] Tillya Tepe. A small piece of wire near the [illegible] perhaps a [illegible] and twenty-four [illegible] were [illegible] dangling [illegible] drapes [illegible] rounds. Numerous [illegible] were attached with loop-in-loop chains made from [illegible] wire. The smaller elements included plain gold disks and appliqué-like [illegible] [illegible] small heart-[illegible] and droplets and rounds surrounded by granulation.

[illegible] these pendants was surely a [illegible] effort. A skilled artisan must have designed and assembled the pieces. With the [illegible] of [illegible] materials and [illegible] components carried out by assistants and apprentices. An analysis of manufacturing techniques indicates that [illegible] were manufactured in the same workshop. The Bactrian gold from Tillya Tepe [illegible] a culture that drew inspiration from the east and the west. We also [illegible] in [illegible] trade. This is demonstrated not only by those who wore the jewelry but also by those artisans who created such memorable works of gold.

Page [illegible] Bactria [illegible] Tillya Tepe Tomb II [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

Hans-Paul Franzen

[illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Gold-plated silver-leather drinking vessel from Tillya Tepe, [illegible] Bactrian [illegible] at Ancient Kish [illegible] Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. [illegible] Tillya Tepe. (Bactrian drawing [illegible] Agade)

Fig. [illegible] Necklace with [illegible] decorations, [illegible] Tillya Tepe IV [illegible] Gold [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul. (1989–90 CE)

[illegible] Bactrian [illegible] of Eucratides, however, is possible. [illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] power in the region. Ancillary [illegible] Spalirises and Pakores. The [illegible] of their [illegible] the earliest [illegible] Bactria from Mithradates was the Parthian [illegible] Nanaia, divine [illegible] Kushan dynastic goddess. The helmeted figure also appears on the [illegible] of the Tillya Tepe princes' necklace, [illegible] detail [illegible] on a bulla from Dipal Tepe [illegible] in the Bactria [illegible] of the cast of Tillya Tepe. While the chieftains [illegible] the nomadic Saka invaders of Bactria who overtaken the Greeks about [illegible] or newcomers from the steppes, the Tillya Tepe [illegible] small, [illegible] in a position to [illegible] both [illegible] the Parthians or the rising Kushan empire. Thus they soon disappeared. Which [illegible] of Tillya Tepe [illegible] the singular and unique [illegible] brilliance of these [illegible] [illegible]

Meanwhile, the Tillya Tepe [illegible] about [illegible] north of the [illegible] Empire [illegible] was preserved [illegible] Bactrian and Kushan material, but nothing [illegible] of the period [illegible]

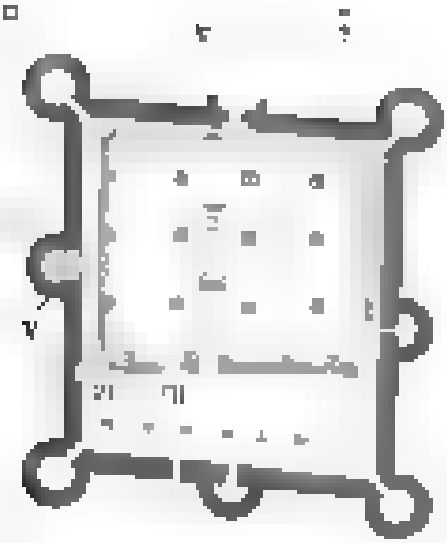


Fig. 4. Drawing of the Imperial [illegible] at Tillya Tepe.

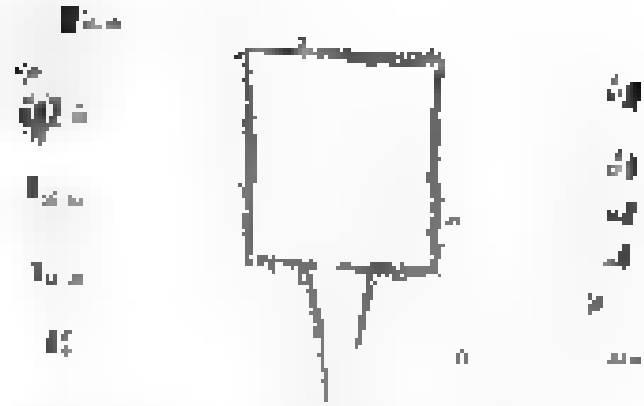
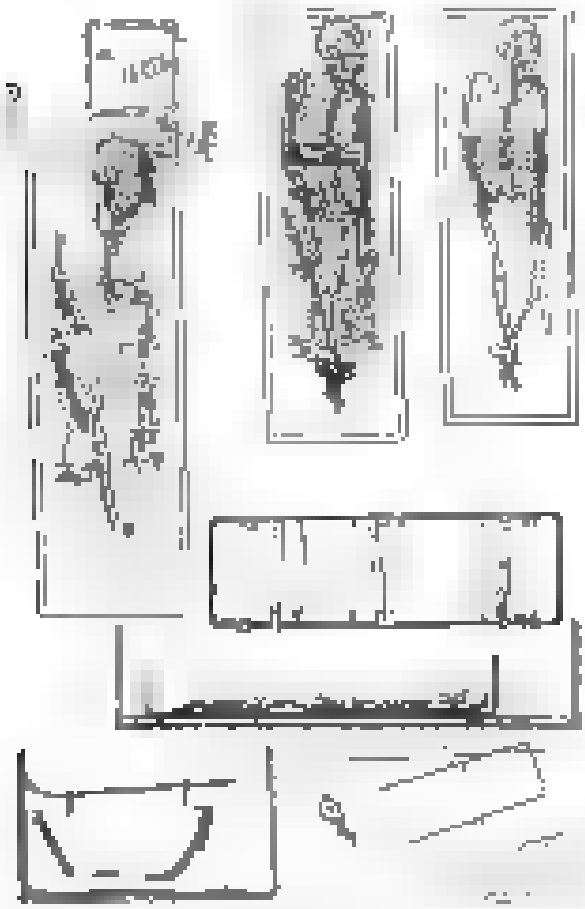


Fig. 5. Drawing of the foundation of Kampir-dila [illegible] Qunduz Museum.



[illegible] B.C. to the [illegible] century A.D. The [illegible] site of Sirkap in Taxila [illegible] under Parthian rule and [illegible] about [illegible] kilometers east of Tillya Tepe and Emshi Tepe is another site with a similar Bactrian collection-type which was excavated by the Afghan-Soviet [illegible] in the 1970s. There also is an other Bactrian site, the Tillya Tepe period (Mid-[illegible] century A.D.) is represented by more local material or by demonstrated [illegible] Dasht-e-Nawi in the Surkhan Darya valley, located upstream from the mud-brick [illegible] building associated with clay [illegible]. With a multitude of [illegible] [illegible] second century B.C. [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] contemporaneous with Tillya Tepe [illegible]. Nothing matches the quantity of recovered remains from Gracco-Bactrian or Kushan times.

Fig. [illegible] Plan and [illegible] of Tomb IV, Tillya Tepe, showing [illegible] and [illegible] right and [illegible] left.

[illegible] the largest agricultural [illegible] and populations in the history of the region. Whether this pattern is a consequence [illegible] of a [illegible] ecological crisis, the result of depopulation, or a shift to nomadic herding, we cannot tell. But examination of the [illegible] material from the cemetery does provide [illegible] evidence.

The Tillya Tepe cemetery is actually a single [illegible] site, [illegible] burial a group of [illegible] graves, [illegible] and [illegible] partially [illegible] the greater [illegible] of male and five female burials and the wealth of the deposits, it is generally [illegible] that the individuals were interred at the same time and that the site was [illegible]. The tombs were dug on the top of a huge Early Iron Age [illegible] resembling a gigantic kurgan. [illegible] suggest that the male burial (IV) is central and the others peripheral (fig. 3) [illegible] of the general disposition of other burials with adjacent tombs among the Xiongnu (Hun) in Mongolia and in Buriatia (Ulan-Ude, Gol Mod, and Tsaram, fig. 4) in the Altai foothills and Tuva Valley, as well as in the middle steppe (Ulan). From the trans-Ural region to southern Siberia, a more typical interment by adjacent other is the rule. The use of wooden coffins at Tillya Tepe is also [illegible] among the Xiongnu but more typical of them either in the disposal of a horse skull and top-heavy [illegible] chariots, as in the burial pit in Mongolia and Xinjiang. To my knowledge, Tillya Tepe Tomb IV (fig. 5) is the only example of this practice in Bactria.[illegible] Tillya Tepe chariot had no shaft; nevertheless, the chariot [illegible] on the horse's [illegible] with two wheels and an umbrella [illegible]. Recently, fig. 6, a reconstructed [illegible] of the actual Chinese imperial chariot in the burials of Xiongnu princes at Noyon Uula, Gol Mod, and Tsaram (fig. 6). The tombs in Mongolia and the Gobi-Dalikai expedition results from Bactria but, according to Chinese sources, we know that the Xiongnu were in Xinjiang at the time when it was just beyond the Wuzhu, east of Bactria.

[illegible] of Kiuplop were shared over long distances, as is shown by the folding [illegible] found outside the [illegible] in the figure. It is a typical [illegible] chariot, the official chariot of Boshan [illegible]. We can [illegible]

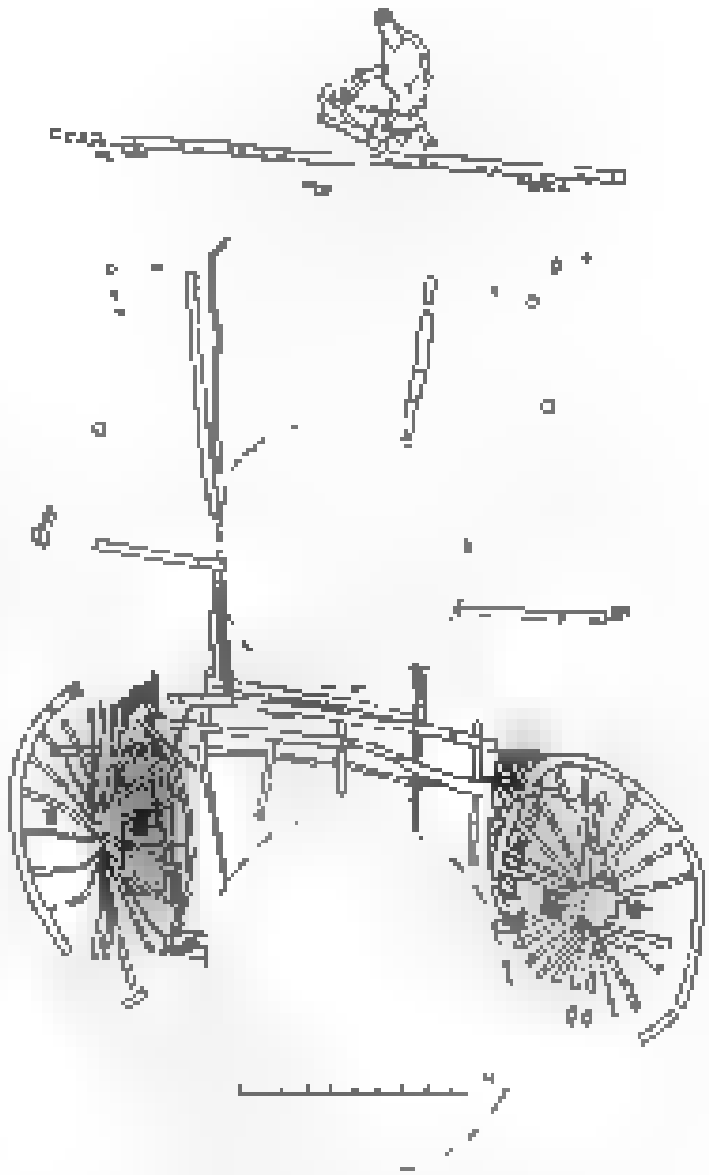


Fig. 4. Drawing of a [illegible] Xiongnu [illegible] in Tsaram (Buriatia), with [illegible] a horse [illegible] skeleton. The two broken [illegible] show the [illegible] of the [illegible]

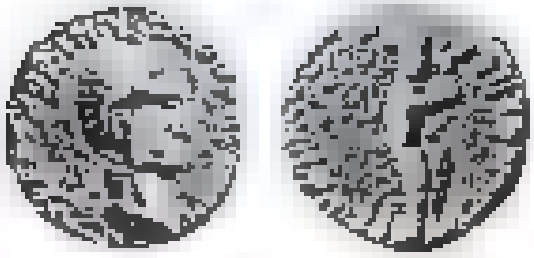


Fig. [illegible] Upper [illegible] of Kanishka's casket in [illegible] of Augustus [illegible] Asian Art in Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Fig. [illegible] Dagger [illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] Gold and [illegible] Museum [illegible] Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

[illegible] Kanishka's casket [illegible] Augustus [illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] folding chair [illegible] Roman [illegible] Kushan [illegible] spread distribution [illegible] Special [illegible] among the weapons [illegible] particular the four-bladed dagger (cat. [illegible]). The most ancient examples in wood are found in [illegible] belonging to the [illegible] Achaemenid [illegible] parallels for the [illegible] weapon appear at Persepolis [illegible] Sarmatian [illegible] four-edged dagger [illegible] the Wing the weapon [illegible] a horseman, was in use among the Parthians [illegible] belt plaques and for [illegible] which [illegible] dagger [illegible] found [illegible] represented [illegible] the [illegible] appears on the [illegible] Kushan [illegible] the same type of sheath is depicted on [illegible] sculptures [illegible] Kushan [illegible] Zoroastrian [illegible] represent the same four-bladed [illegible] found were [illegible] both the [illegible] knife and the sheath. Although without the dagger [illegible] Another one is [illegible] with [illegible] from the [illegible] Valley, Jalalabad [illegible] Afghanistan. [illegible] A very unusual depiction of this type of sheath appears on a fragment of a sculpture from [illegible] representing the lower part of a man with the dagger and [illegible] Note that [illegible] the tomb of a Kushan [illegible] with their classical [illegible] and [illegible] probably related to [illegible] the four-[illegible] sheaths [illegible] Kushan

Fig. [illegible] Dagger [illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] Gold and [illegible] Museum [illegible] Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

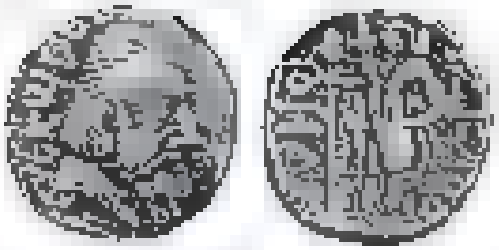


Fig. [illegible] Copper [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

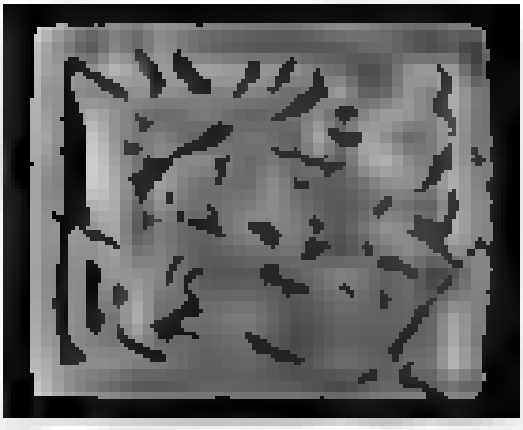
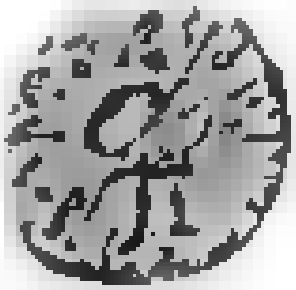


Figure 10. Dragon Mantel pendant, Tillya Tepe, Tomb II, second quarter of the [illegible] century A.D. Gold, turquoise, garnet, lapis lazuli, [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (photo [illegible])

The pendant from Tillya Tepe II at Tillya Tepe beautifully exemplifies this composition, see fig. [illegible]. Its overlap [illegible] the position of the lower part of the body of the central figure [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] believe we may notice the typical [illegible] jacket they were [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] crown. This crown, similar to one represented on a bronze [illegible] in Paris, the Louvre, clearly comes from Achaemenid art. The tiara [illegible] [illegible] during the Hellenistic period and hardly appeared in Parthian [illegible]. The dragon with horns, [illegible] wings, raised paws, a pointed tail, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] above a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



Page [illegible] Mural on Aramaic [illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul [illegible]

[illegible] comparable [illegible] or longer than the gap between the [illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] and the Bactrian [illegible] [illegible] We have many hypotheses [illegible] the chronological gap but none [illegible] satisfactorily [illegible]

[illegible] Tillya Tepe [illegible] from the [illegible] steppe region to southern Siberia [illegible] the Sarmatian culture [illegible] the Sarmatian culture [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

John Boardman

[illegible]

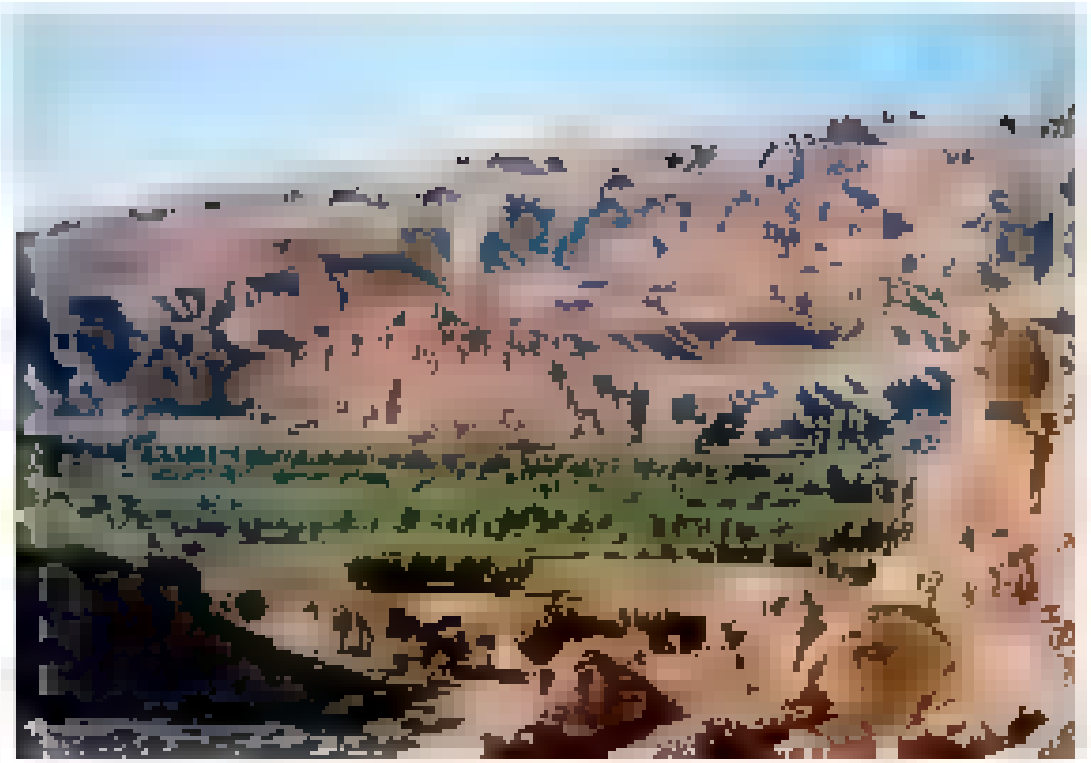
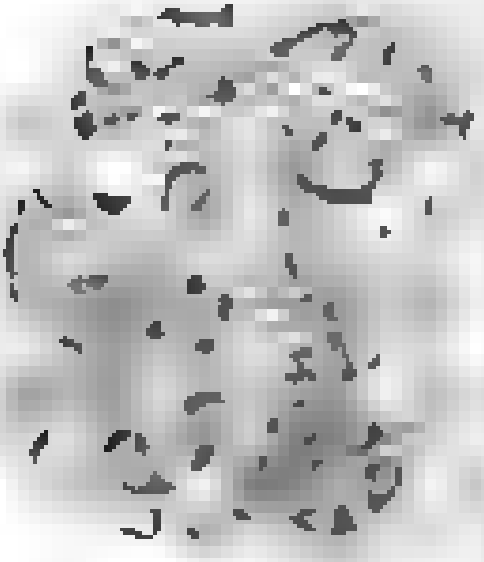
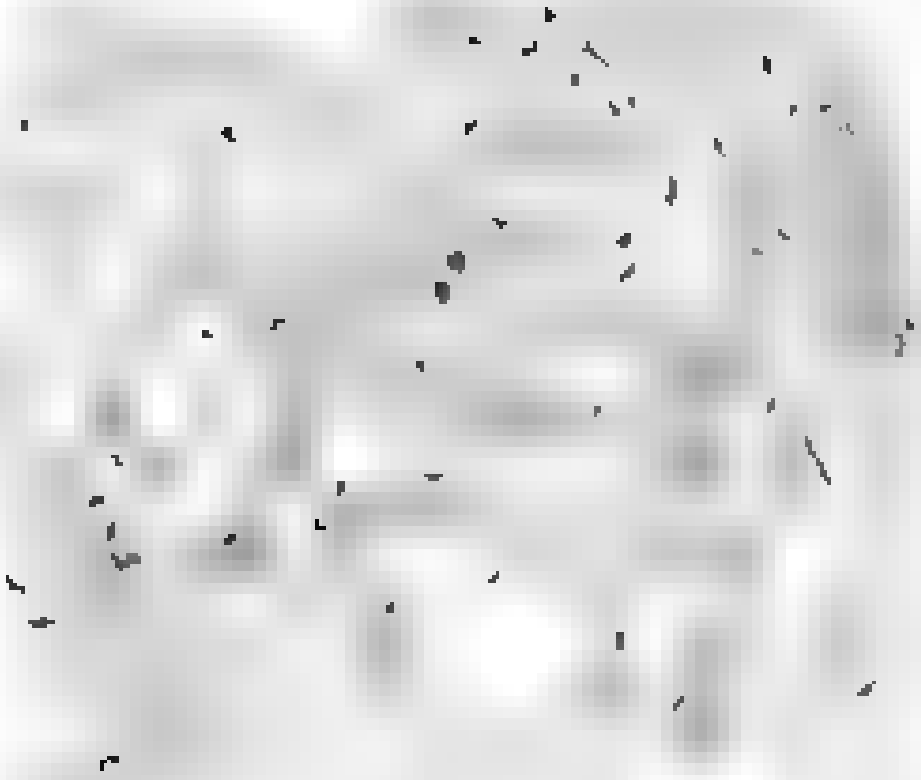


Fig. [illegible] Pont-aux-Vaches

Fig. [illegible] Tuffeau above the ruins of the ancient town of Xaudaha





[illegible]

[illegible]

The lady in Tomb VI had Greek sphinx for earrings and other jewelry showing Aphrodite. Venus: beautiful nude with wings, emphasizing her dominant role as Mother Aphrodite. Most sphinx not of this period; perhaps the beaded pattern was found on many items in the hand and another in her mouth. This was a Greek numerical symbol, especially because she does not wear the five necklaces of the seven steps of the underworld, surely also bind in a Greek reference to targeting Greek beliefs, expressed in every different way. Gold was an Greek national memory of the west as well as the east, extended extent.

Turning to the pitiful burial, we find a sphinx belt, gold rounded, on a type sent from China to Persia to India. On each roundel is figure (fig. 6) wearing short skirt and boots and holding a whip, up which scared on a horse. A woman riding a lion recalls an Indian goddess. Nana and the dress and beard are not quite Greek, although they are quite appropriate in a Dionysiac context. But the sphinx Greek, also revealed in silver that has been found in Afghanistan, was relief of a woman or the goddess Eurydice. Greek sphinx, the feminine attributed a wind woman follower of the god Dionysus, a very popular motif in the east. While the

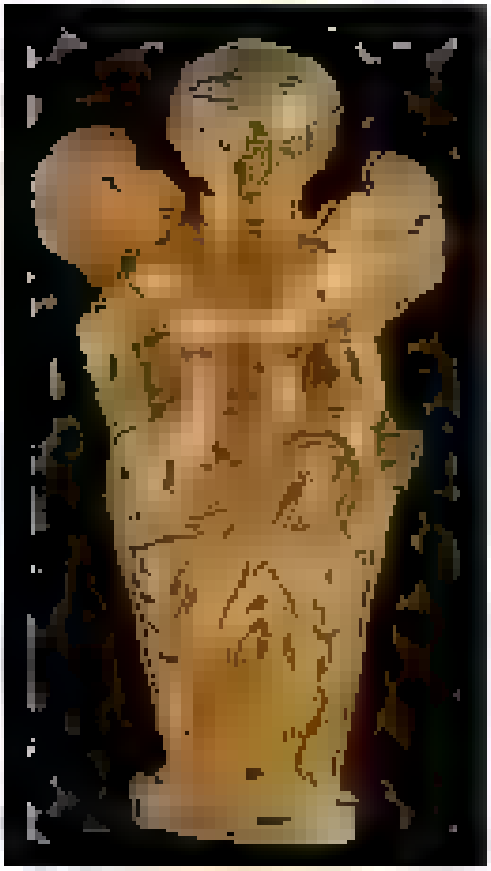


Fig. 5. Applique of a winged Aphrodite. Tillya Tepe, Tomb VI, upper quadrant of the mirror, with Gold, repoussé, 2.6 cm. National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (9455).

Fig. 6. Turning of the gold belt roundel with a figure on a lion. Tillya Tepe, Tomb IV. [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (9455).

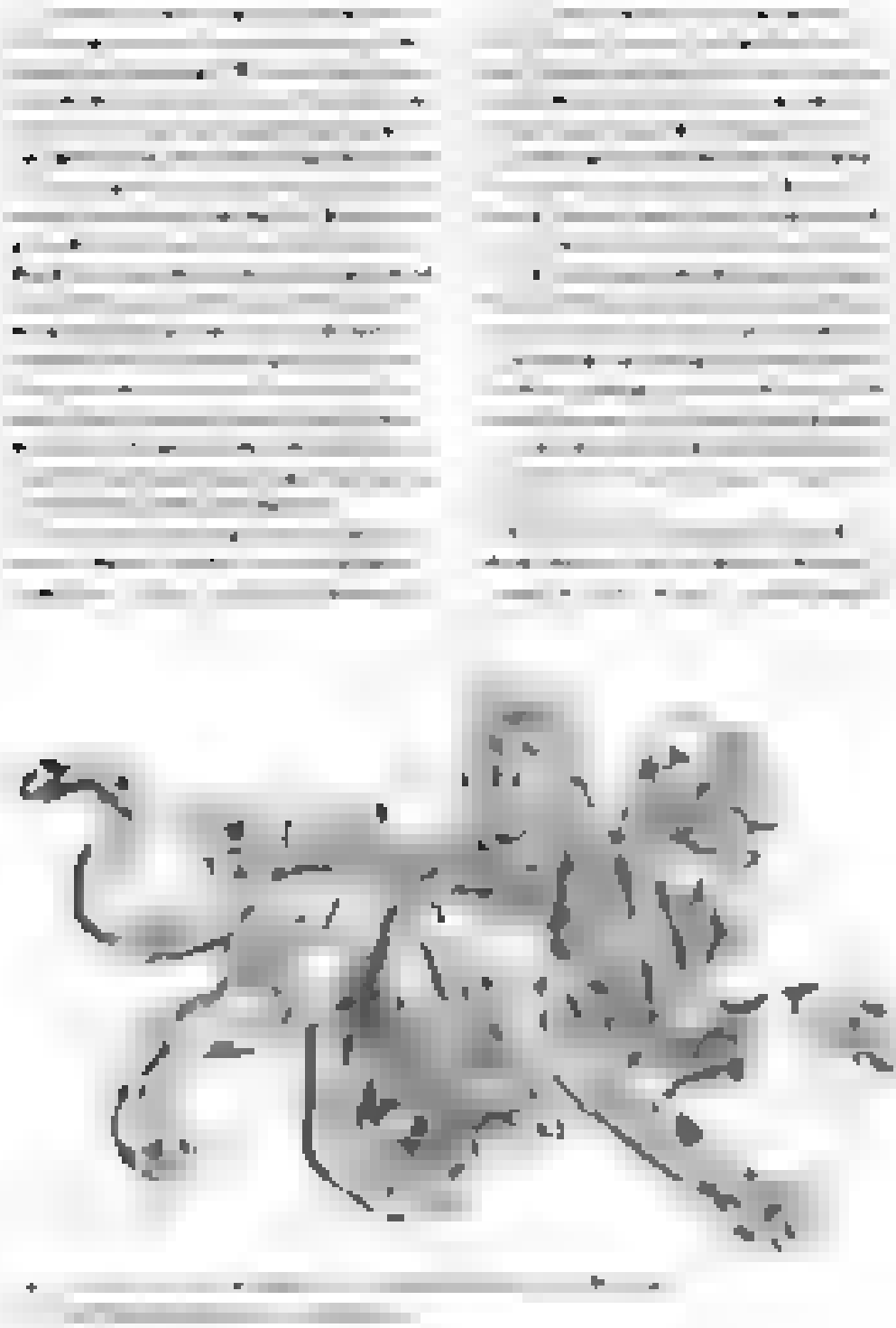
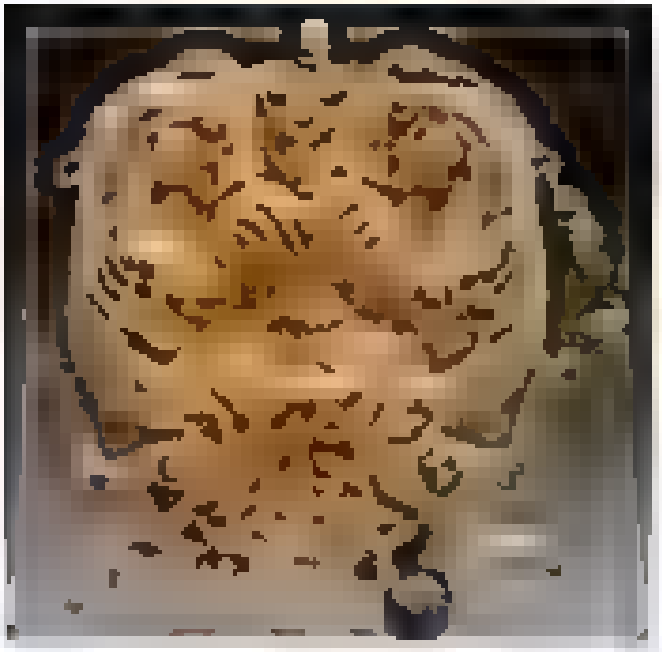


Fig. [illegible] Drawing of a gold [illegible] showing Orion riding dolphin and on the Tillya Tepe Tomb [illegible] and quoted as an [illegible] in National Museum of Afghanistan Kabul (1978–1979)

Fig. [illegible] Drawing of a [illegible] of Hippocampus [illegible] showing a Triton riding dolphin and an oar

Fig. [illegible] Drawing (right) of a good ship with a warrior and [illegible] detail of the gold [illegible] Tillya Tepe Grave [illegible] in the quarter of the [illegible] in the National Museum of Afghanistan Kabul (1978–1979)



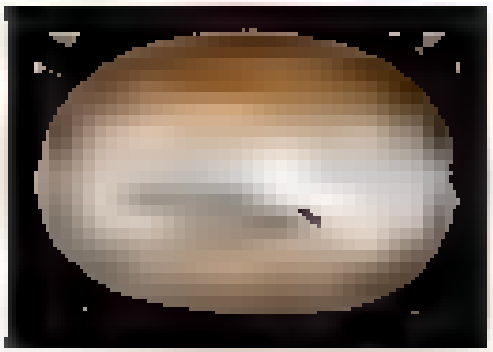
[illegible] visiting the area adjacent to Bactria, Ferghana to the northeast, where little Greek had ever settled. They were seeking the large, dramatic horses, which "sweated blood" and had been bred there for centuries, to use them in their fight against the nomadic Mede tribes, who were barely more than pariahs. It cannot be doubted that the image somehow reflected this Chinese interest in the west, one devoted horse lover—to whom both the history and the mythology were very familiar, as were the horses and their patchbitch. The subject was expressed in an essentially Greek way, transforming the essential Mother of Animals into a Master of Divine Horses.

The subject is rare and most in northern Afghanistan are local and strange. We see local devotees that seem not have displaced a Greek source, often an odd combination of Greek style, pattern and indeed [illegible] and we find a degree of animal realism that is the way outlives the Greek and [illegible] Yet another facet of Central Asian art that is only slowly being recognized. It stands in comparison with the work of Greece or China and vividly contrasts with what is commonly associated with the steppes. Asia

The period saw a [illegible] which has [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Denise Patry Leidy

Links, Missing and Otherwise: Tillya Tepe and East Asia



of manufacture that can be traced to the [illegible]. The unpatterned or woven patterns on the backs (fig. 8) indicate that they were produced with the "lost wax–lost textile" technique related to China or, as the essays in this volume by Jane Hickman and Chris Boardman, and in the nonfiction's treatise on the topic among the many parallels, to the lakshmi-bronze technique. In this technique, which is a variant of the indirect lost-wax casting method, the wax model used in the casting is removed with a piece of woven fabric. In such the reflections of the back of the buckles are duplicates in relief of the textile that lightly the model. The decoration on the buckles shows a Chinese dragon fighting, Wrestling Chinese clothing and riding in a Chinese-style chariot, drawn by horses. Features, and it seems likely that the buckles, which are among the more beautifully made works from the Bactrian hoard, were cast either in China or in a border area between China and the steppe, probably as a gift or for trade, were members of a horse-riding elite living along the Silk Road for the north.

The dagger and sheath found by the mast in Tomb IV also show familiarity with Chinese images. [illegible] of the materials found in Tillya Tepe—wood, [illegible] and metal—were used. The beast on the pommel (fig. 9) is also found in Hellenistic and Western Asiatic imagery, however, the posture—the animal stalks with its hind legs, which the hind paws are underneath—is similar to representations in Chinese art of beasts and dragons, particularly in tomb and other contexts. A breathing dragon, a motif, Chinese motif, is depicted among the creatures on the sheath (fig. 9) further suggesting a Chinese influence, if not workmanship.

The long, unusual body, including horns, and short wings of the dragon on the sheath are also those found in the rendering of the mythical beasts, features exhibited by the figure in the center of one of a pair of [illegible] work by the Wolfram Fund

Fig. [illegible] Back buckles with [illegible] in the shape of dragon, from Tillya Tepe, Tomb IV, second quarter of the 1st century A.D. Gold, [illegible] and [illegible]. H. [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (cat. [illegible])

Fig. [illegible] Back view of [illegible] buckle, Tillya Tepe, Tomb IV, [illegible] quarter of the 1st century A.D. Gold, [illegible] and [illegible]. H. [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul (cat. [illegible])

Fig. 4. Dragon shield with a central [illegible] T. 30, [illegible] tomb 19, second quarter of the [illegible] century B.C. Bronze, gilt and [illegible]. [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul 94.40.1[illegible]

[illegible] Tomb 2 [illegible] Figure [illegible] Although this imagery can be traced to the [illegible] Western Asiatic Master of Animals motif, the horned dragons are representations of [illegible] in the art of the Western Han dynasty [illegible] in China. [illegible] found [illegible] in the Gandhara [illegible] concentrated in [illegible] Shandong Province [illegible] Fig. 6). The Western antiquities of the [illegible] dragons in both worlds derive from [illegible] the elongated and narrow bodies follow traditional Chinese depictions of dragons [illegible] the documentation, translation [illegible] and Boardman, pp. [illegible]).

The spectacular crown Fig. [illegible] from Tomb VI at Tillya Tepe [illegible] parallels with contemporaneous traditions. Made of gold sheet [illegible] of China [illegible] and Eve remarkable [illegible] in the shape of [illegible] and are further that [illegible] were openwork patterns, some in the shape of [illegible] and [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Dragon shield [illegible] with prowling dragon [illegible] Tomb IV, second quarter [illegible] century B.C. Gold and [illegible]. [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul 94.40.1[illegible]

at Tillya Tepe. Both the [illegible] and the supporting band are decorated with [illegible] which are [illegible] [illegible] round leaves that have been attached with [illegible] gold wire. This particular method of manufacture resembles an [illegible] Hickman's study of Sassanian [illegible] in which [illegible] attached to a thin gold sheet were good [illegible] and found in China in the third and fourth centuries and in Korea in the fifth and sixth centuries [illegible]

Examples of this type of metalwork have also been [illegible] in Inner Mongolia, as well as in Jilin and Liaoning [illegible] the [illegible] in Gansu and are associated with a nomadic confederation [illegible] in Chinese historical [illegible] as the Xianbei. Part of a larger and more amorphous group [illegible] generally as the eastern barbarians. [illegible] the Xianbei first appear as an independent confederation in the mid-first century AD during a period of [illegible] among the Xiongnu, which was the dominant group in the [illegible] from the third century AD to the first century AD. By the mid-second century AD the Xianbei had become more powerful and were demanding payment of goods and money from the courts of the Eastern Han [illegible]

[illegible] Some [illegible] suggest that capital of the Xianbei succeeded the [illegible] from the Xiongnu at the same time [illegible] the mid-second century under the leadership of [illegible] Tanshihuai. [illegible] were [illegible] a large [illegible] area. Despite the quick dissolution of this group, different branches of the Xianbei [illegible] an important role in the [illegible] and [illegible] in the third and fourth centuries. Some [illegible] established small polities in northern China. Others [illegible] small [illegible] and other [illegible] deposed by the [illegible] warning factions that [illegible] Tuoba [illegible] the [illegible] and spelled [illegible] to Kingdom period [illegible] Members of [illegible]

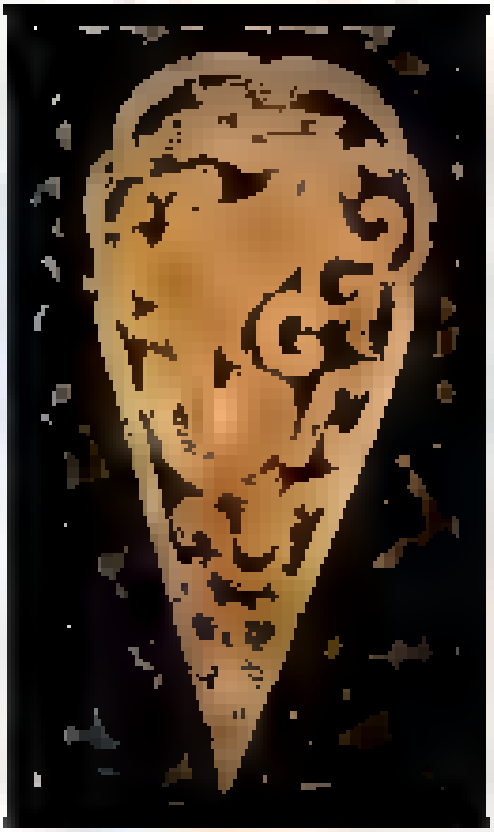


Fig. 6. Pendant at a belt with [illegible] dragon. Sinkiang [illegible] Gansu [illegible] Museum, Minorca

known as the Mu-rong Xianbei, rose to prominence in the fourth century, which they established based: small states such as the Former Yan [illegible], later Yan [illegible] and Northern Yan [illegible] which were based in the northeast and [illegible] in [illegible] and [illegible] pavilions.

Archaeological discoveries in China indicate that the Xianbei also [illegible] with the development of a distinctive [illegible] and [illegible] of depictions, which is characterized by an concern to represent almost abstract [illegible] of animals such as horses and deer. Moreover, it is clear that the Xianbei [illegible]

Fig. [illegible] Crown, Tillya Tepe, Tomb VI, second quarter of the [illegible] century B.C. Gold and [illegible] National Museum of Afghanistan. [illegible]

[illegible] a pickaxe. [illegible] to mythical creatures, such as the dragon. The [illegible] a fantastic horse-like creature with wings and a horse-like [illegible] and distinctive [illegible] the [illegible] at the pendant in Tomb II at Tillya Tepe [illegible] Trans-Bactrian [illegible] Boardman [illegible] Chinese [illegible]

[illegible] the Statistical Ministry of the [illegible] Shah, a recently [illegible] in the shape of a [illegible] which has an [illegible]-like belly. [illegible] classified as the [illegible] that [illegible] Museum. [illegible] the Bilugah Mountains in [illegible] Province, [illegible] to the pattern [illegible] Inner Mongolia and [illegible] China, such winged and [illegible] animals, [illegible] the [illegible] of

the head shown in the bottom [illegible] standing [illegible] are depicted on both plaques and other objects produced for members of the Xianbei aristocracy.

Other pieces found in tomb Metropolis and in Liaoning and Jilin provinces [illegible] that are linked specifically to the Murong Xianbei. These include plaques found in Liaoning Province in [illegible] which are decorated with gold openwork [illegible] and were most likely worn at the crown of headdresses (fig. 8). Additional examples of this type of ornament have also been [illegible]. Pieces found in archaeological [illegible] also include additional [illegible] or trees that would have been worn on headdresses or clothing, again similar to what was found in tomb [illegible] Tuqu Tepe and thought to have decorated the [illegible] worn by the main figure in that tomb. One of the most interesting [illegible] associated with the Murong Xianbei is a small [illegible] plaque [illegible] Mongolia [illegible] that shows a standing figure with two [illegible] beside it. Based on the [illegible] design, this figure is a continuation of the Master of Animals [illegible] from Tomb II at Tuqu Tepe near Frankfort [illegible] (fig. 9). Like the Xianbei [illegible] discussed earlier, the imagery of this plaque reflects [illegible] the Xianbei as northeastern [illegible] and peoples based farther west.

The use of thin gold sheet embellished with granular [illegible] supported by gold wire appears [illegible] disappeared in China after the mid-[illegible] century. When the Murong Xianbei polities were incorporated into the Northern Wei [illegible] which was established by the Tuoba Xianbei and [illegible] all of northern China, it is interesting to note however that this dynasty [illegible] northward [illegible] the Korean peninsula, which is contiguous to the Murong [illegible] in Jilin and Liaoning provinces and which during the third and fourth [illegible] saw the rise of an [illegible] of better [illegible] examples of which may have been Xianbei or had been in their group. Examples of this type of metal-working have been found in [illegible] throughout Korea, but the most dramatic [illegible] were found in tomb [illegible] in the foothills of the peninsula that [illegible] associated with the other three kingdoms [illegible] of Silla, one of [illegible] that controlled the peninsula during the Three Kingdoms period. The others are Goguryeo [illegible] to the north, Baekje [illegible] to the southwest, and [illegible] Silla [illegible] modified. [illegible] Silla and Baekje [illegible] contact with the Liang dynasty [illegible] in China. The peninsula was united under the rule of the Unified Silla dynasty [illegible].

The noticeably larger number [illegible] Silla kingdom [illegible]

Fig. 8. Headdress ornament with pendants, Liaoning Province, Dongyi Bogwan, Jeju, Korea. Gold, [illegible]. Liaoning Provincial Museum.

[illegible]

[illegible] Tomb of the Golden Man, Tillya Tepe, Tomb IV, Bactria, Northern Afghanistan, 1st century BCE–1st century CE. Gold, 3 x 3 in. (7.6 x 7.6 cm). National Museum, Kabul, Afghanistan.

[illegible] large part to the [illegible] structure of the tomb [illegible] that [illegible] most likely introduced by the horse riding people that moved into the Fergana in the early fourth century, the tombs are comparable to the burials found in the Altai region and elsewhere in central Asia and southern Russia. They consist of a wood chamber which houses one or more coffins [illegible] placed on a stone platform. Some also contained burial chambers filled with wood. The chambers were then filled and covered with a large number of stones and then with earth and grass to create the large mounds characteristic of the tombs. Over [illegible] mounds have been identified in the region so far, [illegible] the tombs of both the Sulla [illegible] and the Kushan dynasty. Not all have been excavated.

In addition to an assortment of gold and [illegible] and [illegible] Sulla burials [illegible] period tombs have yielded a wealth of evidence for the [illegible] of horse riding [illegible] from the Eastern [illegible] century, as well as for the [illegible] of [illegible] to regions at the western edge of the steppe and with the Xiongnu and Tiaoba Xiongnu in China. Members of the Sulla [illegible] were most likely buried in [illegible] based on a set of [illegible] that [illegible] ornaments, [illegible] as well as elaborate belt [illegible] and a range of [illegible] including gold [illegible] at their [illegible]. In addition, several of the individuals in Kurgan [illegible] were buried with large gold [illegible] comparable to the gold [illegible] found in Tomb IV at Tillya Tepe.[1]

Western Asian works excavated in these tombs include a bronze silver bowl showing animals and an number human [illegible] [illegible] clearly shaped that is very similar to one found in Kunduzbrum, [illegible] glass [illegible] and beads. More [illegible] of the [illegible]

[illegible] found in their burials as in the shape of drinking horns or [illegible] vessels. Type vessels are related with Western Asia. In increasing order that most of the drinking horns found in Korea are made of gold plated on wooden, like a glass therefore with a stated found in the Afghan tomb of Begram (see "Wheelbarrow" [illegible] figure [illegible]) found in the tomb of Tillya Tepe. Moreover the shape and style of both the belts and saddles found in Korean tombs show parallels to those excavated in Xinjiang in China. Both the belt ornaments and the saddle also share a taste for horse-and-person motifs in their decoration, as does the [illegible] found in Tomb II at Tillya Tepe. Use of gold mounts is found also in Korean metal as well as earlings and other additional ornaments in Xinjiang and Korea as well as in the tomb of Tillya Tepe.

Finally, the Old Silla crown of the fifth to sixth centuries also have visible parallels in silver and gold crowns that are strikingly similar in manufacture and appearance to those of the Tillya Tepe. Workers also found in tomb V at Tillya Tepe. The gold crowns from the Heavenly Horse Tomb (Fig. 10) is further enhanced by the long pendants that would have framed the face, more like the adornments worn by the women in Tomb VI at Tillya Tepe (see Fig. 11). Typical of Korean crowns, it consists of a thin headband with three upward-facing finials in the center and two additional arches shaped pieces at the rear, like the Tillya Tepe crowns. The Korean examples are embellished with cross-cut triangles that are similar to those in the gold discs with gold wires, unlike those from Tomb VI. However, the finials on the Korean examples are more remarkable. Most of them are embellished with rows of radiating shapes, reminiscent of a shape that is also found in other materials at Tillya Tepe. The complexity of exchanges in Central and East Asia at this time is reflected in studies by several scholars, who believe that the silk used in the pleated finials of Korean crowns was imported from Japan, which had also experienced an influx of horse-riding peoples and [illegible] in burial practices and goods in about the fourth to fifth [illegible].

The connection between the wooden [illegible] and the appearance of the gold crowns found at Tillya Tepe and of those excavated in Korea are striking and raise a case of intermixing of nomadic quite [illegible] that [illegible] at [illegible] with decorative gold spangles were produced over a wide geographic range in the [illegible] over the course of several centuries, and that the material from Afghanistan, Inner Mongolia, China, and Korea represents a

Fig. 10 Crown from the Heavenly Horse Tomb, Korea, Silla dynasty, 6th century, in Gold [illegible] Courtesy National Museum

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

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Berkowitz and Fredrickson 2001 [illegible]

[illegible]

Barnard [illegible] [illegible]

Bennington and [illegible] [illegible]

Berger and Pitsch talking [illegible]

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Bernard [illegible]

Bernard and Abdullah [illegible]

Bernard, Bernard and Marquis [illegible]

Bernard, Savage and Bernard [illegible]

Bernstein, Fernando, and Eric Rosenzweig. [illegible]

Bernstein and Mangum. [illegible]

Bloom. [illegible]

Boardman. [illegible]

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Boardman. [illegible]

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